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JEWISH INSCRIPTIONS OF GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT

With an index of the Jewish
inscriptions of Egypt and Cyrenaica

WILLIAM HORBURY and DAVID NOY



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PREFACE

The collection of inscriptions below is based above all on the Egyptian section of *CIJ* (mainly the work of J.-B. Frey and G. Kittel, but published in 1952 after both had died), and the revised and supplemented texts, translations and comments published by D.M. Lewis in *CPJ* iii (1964); but each inscription has been reconsidered and sixteen new entries have been added (as well as the inscriptions in Appendices 2 and 3).

Much bibliographical and other information in *CIJ* was designedly not repeated in *CPJ*, and both works together, supplemented by other publications, have been needed for the study of the inscriptions. For each inscription, therefore, we have aimed to bring together in brief the principal information, a reconsidered text and translation, and a revised and updated bibliography. The text follows a named publication, apart from three cases where our reading comes from a new photograph, but other editorial work is noted, and restorations and translations sometimes vary from those adopted in *CIJ* or *CPJ*. An opinion is expressed in cases where an inscription seems doubtfully Jewish.

Each entry gives information in the following order: (i) Place of origin, so far as known, probable dating, and class of inscription; (ii) Museum or other location, as last recorded; (iii) Authority for the text; (iv) Text and translation, with notes of other important publications in which there are readings or conjectural restorations differing from our text; (v) chronologically ordered bibliography (a) of publications reproducing the whole inscription, with or without discussion, and (b) of other publications; (vi) Comment on points of interest or difficulty; (vii) Description of the stone where possible, with notes on letter forms: the style of *alpha*, *epsilon*, *sigma* and *omega*, the most variable letters, is always noted, and other letters are noted if they differ significantly from standard forms.

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The order of the inscriptions differs from that adopted in *CIJ* and *CPJ* in following a rather more systematic geographical arrangement, starting at Alexandria and moving southwards. Inscriptions of uncertain provenance are at the end, followed by Appendix 1 of those inscriptions included in *CIJ* or *CPJ* for which the classification 'Jewish' seems unjustified, Appendix 2 of inscriptions from outside Egypt referring to Egyptian Jews, and Appendix 3 of Egyptian pagan inscriptions containing apparently Jewish names. Appendices 2 and 3 do not include a full bibliography or critical text. The line-breaks of the inscriptions are marked, and the use of brackets follows that of *CPJ* (i.e. the 'Leiden' system). The common symbol L is represented in texts by (ἐτους) or (ἐτῶν), as appropriate.

We hope that the Index will go some way to meet an obvious need. For Jewish personal names and places of habitation, the student can refer to the work of D. Rokeah in *CPJ* iii (1964), but no other indexing is readily available. Computerization of the material has helped us to offer many further categories. Only those inscriptions which we consider to be Jewish (nos.1-134, 141-153) have been indexed, and the non-Jewish parts of Jewish inscriptions (the titles and family relationships of the Ptolemies) are also excluded from the Index, although references to the monarchs themselves are included under the heading 'Rulers'. For Appendix 3 (nos.154-6), there are entries only in sections I and II.a of the Index. We have included for comparative purposes new indexes to the Jewish inscriptions of Cyrenaica published by G. Lüderitz and J.M. Reynolds in *CJZC*, arranged in the same form as the Egyptian indexes.

The criteria which we have used to identify inscriptions as Jewish are:

- i) The presence of names which can be regarded as used primarily by Jews.
- ii) The use of Jewish divine titles, formulae, the description Ἰουδαῖος and mainly Jewish terminology like προσευχή and ἀρχισυνάγωγος.

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iii) The use of Hebrew.

iv) Provenance from the predominantly Jewish site of Tell el-Yehoudieh (Leontopolis) - see Introduction, below.

On these grounds we have included several inscriptions whose Jewishness we acknowledge is quite doubtful (especially nos. 18, 20, 124-5), but excluded six which were accepted by *CIJ* or *CPJ* (Appendix 1). References to some inscriptions which do not satisfy these criteria but where Jewishness is a possibility are given in the commentaries on the most closely comparable inscriptions which we have included; the names from such inscriptions are indexed in sections II-IV in the form '11 (notes)'.

The limitation of the work to the Graeco-Roman period has meant that one group of apparently Jewish inscriptions has not been included: nine largely fragmentary tombstones from Edfu (later Apollinopolis Magna) which have been tentatively dated on palaeographic grounds to the 4th century B.C. (W. Kornfeld, 'Jüdisch-aramäische Grabinschriften aus Edfu'). This is the first Jewish community in Egypt which is known to have produced inscriptions; none have been discovered relating to the 5th century B.C. military settlement at Elephantine.

The authors divided the entries of the inscriptions as follows. Dr Horbury prepared entries 1-9, 13-17, 19-25, 27-40, 114, 125, 127-9, 135: inscriptions from (or originally attributed to) Alexandria and the Delta; metrical inscriptions. Dr Noy prepared entries 10-12, 18, 26, 41-113, 115-124, 126, 130-4, 136-156: prose inscriptions from Tell el-Yehoudieh and Demerdash; material from the Fayum and further south; various inscriptions not entered in *CIJ* or *CPJ*; the appendices. Parts (i) and (iii) of the Introduction were prepared by Dr Horbury, part (ii) by Dr Noy. Each author has read and commented on the other's work.

The publication derives from the computer database of the Cambridge Divinity Faculty Jewish Inscriptions Project, funded by the British Academy. A database was built up initially by the expertise and enthusiasm of Dr Helen Elsom

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(Research Assistant, January-March 1989) and Dr D.R. de Lacey (Senior Research Associate). The material available on line was substantially augmented by Mr J.N.B. Carleton Paget (Research Assistant, April-September 1989), who also checked, corrected and supplemented the bibliographical data. Dr de Lacey has constantly made himself available for consultation and action on computing questions, and kindly read the final draft of the whole work. The Hebrew and Greek fonts used in this book are to his design, based on SuperHebrew and Adobe Symbol respectively. Miss J.M. Reynolds, a Director of the Project, has most generously responded to questions, and has commented on the work. Dr G.I. Davies, also a Director, has taken responsibility for financial administration as well as responding to questions. Dr D.J. Thompson read the whole work and offered advice on many inscriptions. Dr M.N.A. Bockmuehl kindly commented on the final draft. Dr T. Rajak and Dr N.R.M. de Lange and his seminar group made suggestions about a number of entries. We have not seen a book which is likely to touch many of the entries, P.W. van der Horst, *Ancient Jewish epitaphs* (announced as to appear in November, 1991). The authors are solely responsible for what is offered below, but are glad of this opportunity to express their warm gratitude to their colleagues and to the British Academy.

It remains to present in the Introduction some information applicable to various groups of inscriptions.

INTRODUCTION

(i) ALEXANDRIAN NECROPOLEIS

A number of inscriptions are from the eastern necropolis of Alexandria, excavated since 1870 east of the ancient promontory of Lochias at Chatby (see nos.1-2 below), El-Ibrahimiya (nos.3-8), Hadra (9-10) and Mustafa Pasha (11-12). Strabo mentions a western suburb of Alexandria called Necropolis, but not these eastern cemeteries; the Ptolemaic eastern suburb of Eleusis lay inland from them, south-east of Hadra, on the canal to Canopus (Strabo, *Geog.* xvii 1, 10 and 16). Ibrahimiya lies east of Chatby on the coast, with the ridge of Hadra stretching inland behind them; Mustafa Pasha is on the coast further east (see the map at the end of this volume, and the description in P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, vol.i, pp.31-3, 200).

All these areas, as their use for burials and the measurement of the city given by Strabo and Josephus suggest, will have been outside the eastern walls of the ancient city (Fraser, i, pp.12-13 and ii, pp.26-7 n.64, discussing Strabo, *Geog.* xvii 1, 8 and Josephus, *B.J.* ii 386). They therefore adjoined that eastern district of the city itself which in the first century A.D. was identified by Apion and Josephus as a long-established Jewish quarter. Apion had mocked Jewish settlement in Alexandria on a harbourless shore, but Josephus replied that Alexander himself had granted this excellent residential neighbourhood, which was near to the royal palaces (Josephus, *Ap.* ii 33-4; cf. Josephus *B.J.* ii 487-8 [right of residence granted by Alexander, special quarter by the Diadochi]). The harbour was to the west of the palaces, which were at the base of the promontory of Lochias (Strabo, *Geog.* xvii 1, 9), and the Jews must therefore have lived on the coast east of Lochias. In the disturbances under Flaccus in A.D.38 Jews were driven from their dwellings in all parts of the city into a small portion of one quarter – probably that regarded by Apion and Josephus as the established Jewish

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quarter – and overflowed on to beaches, rubbish-heaps and tombs – that is, the necropolis of Chatby (Philo, *Flacc.* 56, as interpreted by T.D. Néroutsos, *L'ancienne Alexandrie* (1888), p.34 and Fraser, ii, p.102 n.236, p.110 n.271).

Jewish graves have been identified in Chatby, immediately adjoining the ancient Jewish quarter. In 1875 T.D. Néroutsos described a hypogaeum from the eastern necropolis with Jewish graves, and published from it the inscriptions 1-2, below; its location was later given more precisely as Chatby by E. Breccia. (See T.D. Néroutsos, 'Mémoire sur les fouilles récentes', pp.228-9, reproduced in *L'ancienne Alexandrie*, pp.82-3; E. Breccia, 'La necropoli dell'Ibrahimieh', p.40, n.2.) Finds included glass phials, many earthenware lamps decorated with Jewish symbols (seven-branched candlestick, grape-cluster, palm-branches or palm-tree) and decorated ossuaries comparable with those found in Jerusalem. Further ossuaries were found in Jewish tombs excavated by G. Botti at Chatby in 1892. (See Néroutsos, 'Mémoire sur les fouilles récentes', pp.229-30 = *L'ancienne Alexandrie*, p.83; C. Clermont-Ganneau, 'Ossuaire juif provenant d'Alexandrie', pp.302-5; G. Botti, *Notice des monuments* (1893), p.39 (on Room E, Case A); id., 'Études topographiques dans la nécropole de Gabbari', p.44.) An important group of Greek burials at Chatby was described by E. Breccia, *La necropoli di Sciatbi* (1912).

The numerous burials at El-Ibrahimiya and Hadra belong in large part to the period from about 250 B.C. to the earlier second century B.C. Cinerary urns include a dated group of vases, mainly from the reigns of Ptolemy III Euergetes I (246-222) and Ptolemy IV Philopator (222-205), and the pottery finds and the palaeography of the inscriptions indicate the later third and earlier second centuries (see Fraser, i, p.33; ii, pp.104-5, nn.248-51). The Ptolemaic burials at Mustafa Pasha are probably of a slightly later date (Fraser, ii, p.106, n.255). Post-Ptolemaic burials are found above the Ptolemaic ones in a number of places (Fraser, ii, p.105, n.250).

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Hypogaeum burials predominate in El-Ibrahimiya, Hadra and Mustafa Pasha. Loculi in the hypogaea are closed by false-doors, stuccoed and painted with inscriptions and representations of doors, and sometimes also with figurative decoration (not found in the Jewish examples entered below). The funerary inscriptions from these sites entered below are accordingly painted, usually in red.

The Hellenistic development of loculi tombs at Alexandria and in Palestine is sketched, with special reference to the painted hypogaea of Mareshah and the tomb of Jason in Jerusalem, by M.C. Halpern-Zylberstein in *CHJ* ii (1989), pp.17-23. Jewish use of loculi tombs at Alexandria and Leontopolis (see section ii, below) is connected with Jewish loculi burials in Jerusalem and Jericho, in the context of non-Jewish loculi burials in Egypt and elsewhere, by Hachlili and Killebrew, 'Funerary customs', pp.110-112.

Jews are among the non-Greeks, including Syrians, buried in the eastern necropolis, but without the degree of segregation which would allow the description 'Jewish cemetery' (see no.3, below). The content of the inscriptions is therefore the main guide to their identification as Jewish. Some are in Semitic characters, and in one of these (no.3) two Hebrew names are clearly legible.

In ancient times the sites were used for rubbish as well as burials, and habitation probably encroached on them (Philo, *Flacc.* 56, cited above, and Fraser, i, p.32). Mounds of pottery and rubbish were prominent on the surface in the nineteenth century (Néroutsos, *Alexandrie*, p.34; Breccia, *Sciatbi*, p.ix; Fraser, i, p.9; ii, p.22, n.38). For a description of the layer of rubbish above the Ibrahimiya tombs, see E. Breccia, 'La necropoli dell'Ibrahimiya', pp.36, 69-71. Finds in sites best known as cemeteries accordingly include non-funerary inscriptions, such as the fragment of the dedication of a *proseuche* found in rubbish at Hadra (no.9).

The Ptolemaic and Roman cemetery site of Gabbary, corresponding to part of the ancient western suburb of

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Necropolis, is similarly represented here by a *proseuche* dedication (no.13). Again, Kom el-Shukafa, south-west of the ancient Serapeum, is best known for tombs of the Roman period, but is represented (no.14) by a fragment of a probably non-funerary inscription. For these sites, see the map at the end of this volume, and Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* ii, pp.81-3, 107-8, nn.186 & 261-2).

(ii) TELL EL-YEHOUDIEH AND DEMERDASH

Tell el-Yehoudieh is situated about 35 km. north of Cairo, and corresponds to the Ptolemaic and Roman settlement of Leontopolis, where Ptolemy VI Philometor (reigned 180-145 B.C.) allowed Onias to build a Jewish temple. The temple remained in operation until closed on Vespasian's orders in A.D.73/4. It is possible that a Jewish community existed at the site before the foundation and after the closure of the temple. The literary evidence about the site is discussed by M. Delcor, 'Le temple d'Onias en Égypte', pp.188-205 and R. Hayward, 'The Jewish temple at Leontopolis: a reconsideration', pp.429-43. The archaeological history is summarised by E. Bernand, 'Au Dieu très haut', pp.107-11. The Leontopolis where Onias settled was not the same as a larger city of the same name further north, corresponding to modern Tell el-Moqdam. An example of the possible confusion is the inscription SB i 3941, which F. Preisigke attributed to Tell el-Yehoudieh but the original publication by C.C. Edgar (*ASAE* 11 (1910/11), p.1) shows came from Tell el-Moqdam.

European archaeologists began to investigate Tell el-Yehoudieh seriously in 1870, by which time the site had already suffered much depredation. The cemeteries were studied principally by E. Naville in 1887. He discovered many of the epitaphs which are presented here; most of the others were not found by systematic excavation but acquired from villagers living near the site. Inscriptions 29-105 were either

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found in excavations at Tell el-Yehoudieh or plausibly attributed to the site.

The identity of Tell el-Yehoudieh with Onias' settlement at Leontopolis was established conclusively by Naville and by W.M. Flinders Petrie (*Hyksos and Israelite cities* (1906), pp.2, 20-24), although the latter's claim to have discovered the temple has not been widely accepted (Hayward, p.431; R. de Vaux's 'Post scriptum' to Delcor's article, pp.204-5); R. du Mesnil du Buisson ('Le temple d'Onias et le camp Hyksôs à Tell el Yahoudiyé', p.64) described the remains as 'le misérable edifice de M. Petrie'. In what he thought were the temple foundations, Petrie found an ostrakon with demotic writing, probably from the time of Ptolemy VI Philometor or earlier, listing suppliers of bricks including someone named *Abm*, indicated to be a foreigner (pp.26-7, pl. XXIV & XXVII). He also opened some more tombs, and noted their similarity to rock-tombs at Alexandria; the standard plan, of a number of body-length niches radiating from an entrance at the foot of a stairway, is shown in his pl.XII (similar arrangements have been found for non-Jewish burials at Alexandria: A. Adriani, *Annuaire du Musée Greco-Romain* ii (1935-9) pp.87-90 and iii (1940-5) pp.12-16). He found a bowl, jugs, a bronze lock-plate and ornaments from a box (pl.XXVII), but mentioned no further inscriptions.

Another attempt to open tombs on the site was made by the Egyptian Antiquities Service in 1919, but those opened were found to be full of water (C.C. Edgar, 'Tomb-stones from Tell-el-Yahoudieh', p.216). Further epitaphs were found during a brief excavation in 1929 (R. du Mesnil du Buisson, 'Compte rendu sommaire d'une mission à Tell el Yahoudiyée', p.157), but only one was published (no.97, below). Another excavation took place for fifteen days in January 1951 (S. Adam, 'Recent discoveries in the eastern Delta', pp.308-14), during which more tombs were opened in the South Cemetery and some skeletons discovered, but no further inscriptions.

The vast majority of the epitaphs at Tell el-Yehoudieh were inscribed on rectangular stelae, usually within a narrow

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frame surmounted by a pediment. Over 50% of the preserved names in the epitaphs are distinctively Jewish: Biblical names (sometimes in a graecized form), theophoric names like Dositheos (see no.71) and 'Sabbath' names like Sabbataios (see no.58). Among the others are many names like Eirene and Agathokles which were much used by Jews without being distinctively Jewish. It is clear that the same family could include one member with a Jewish name and another with an Egyptian or Greek name (see Index II.d), and that the phraseology used in the epitaphs at the site was broadly similar to that used elsewhere in Egypt. It is therefore impossible to identify a non-Jewish element in the Leontopolis population on the basis of names or vocabulary; neither are there any indications of different burial customs. The community may not have been exclusively Jewish, but there are no reliable grounds for identifying any non-Jewish minority which may have been buried at the site.

All the surviving inscriptions are in Greek, but an early investigator of the site, Prof. Lanzoni, claimed to have found a Hebrew inscription on part of a column; this was lost when a boat overturned in the Nile, and no copy had been made (T. Hayter Lewis, 'Tel-el-Yahoudeh (The Mound of the Jew)'; S. de Ricci, *CRAI* (1908), p.797). Another supposedly Hebrew inscription is described, with a facsimile, by G.J. Chester, 'A journey to the biblical sites in Lower Egypt, etc.', *PEFQS* (1880), pp.136-8; it was found by Prof. Sayce, and was described as a fragment of stone which had been covered with stucco, bearing the letters *heth* and 'ayin in old Hebrew characters with a pattern below them.

Inscriptions 106-114, included in the Tell el-Yehoudieh section of *CIJ*, were actually found at Demerdash, probably a suburb of ancient Heliopolis, and are more likely to indicate the existence of a separate Jewish settlement there than to have been moved from Tell el-Yehoudieh (see C.C. Edgar, 'A group of inscriptions from Demerdash', pp.32-3; V.A. Tcherikover, *The Jews in Egypt*, p.24). In Jewish scripture and tradition, Heliopolis was the home of Joseph's Egyptian

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wife (the mother of Ephraim and Manasseh) and father-in-law (Gen. xli 45, 50; xlv 20; *Joseph and Asenath* i-iii); Joseph settled his own father and brothers there (Artapanus, frag.2, 23.3; Josephus, *Ant.* ii 188); and it was one of the three cities which the children of Israel were later compelled to (re-)build (Exod. i 11, LXX). In part of the textual tradition of Is. xix 18 (including 1Q Isa^a) Heliopolis is one of the five Egyptian cities where the Lord of hosts will be worshipped. Biblical oracles against Heliopolis (Jer. xlv (LXX l) 13, Ezek. xxx 17) are balanced by partly hostile Heliopolitan observations on Jewish history (related by Artapanus, frag.3, 27.8 & 35). According to Manetho, followed by Apion, both quoted by Josephus (*Ap.* i 238, 250 and ii 10-11, respectively), Moses was a Heliopolitan priest who had gone over to the Jews. The place called 'Jews' Camp' where Mithridates and Antipater together fought in aid of Caesar (their march is ambiguously described by Josephus, *B.J.* i 191 = *Ant.* xiv 133) is located with fair probability on the eastern side of the Nile, not far from Heliopolis (A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt*, pp.121-2, adding an identification of the 'Camp' with the Egyptian Babylon [see no.145, below]; the 'Camp' is put to the west of the Delta by Schürer and his revisers, *History* iii.i (1986), pp.48-9). At the beginning of the Roman period Strabo found the ancient city of Heliopolis on its mound deserted, but the cult of its temple of the sun and the bull Mnevis continuing, and he saw temple personnel there (*Geog.* xvii 1, 27 & 29). The Demerdash finds show continued or renewed residence of Jews on the outskirts of the old city in the later Ptolemaic or early Roman period. Christian legend (as in the Arabic Infancy Gospel, xxiv) makes the holy family on their journey pause at Matarieh, also near the old city; and this tradition too is in harmony with the indications of Jewish residence in the neighbourhood, as noted by Edgar, 'Demerdash', p.33.

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(iii) THE METRICAL INSCRIPTIONS

The Leontopolis and Demerdash metrical inscriptions (29–40, 114, below) form the largest known group of Jewish metrical epitaphs. To these must be added two further epitaphs of Egyptian Jews, 23, from Schedia (not in *CIJ* or *CPJ*, but treated as Jewish by E. Bernand), and 141 (Appendix 1), probably Jewish as well as Egyptian, from Rome. Surviving metrical epitaphs of Jews from communities outside Egypt are relatively few: in Greek, two from Beth She'arim (Schwabe & Lifshitz, *Beth She'arim*, ii, nos. 127, 183) and one of two lines from Larissa in Thessaly (*CIJ* 701), and in Latin, the hexameter epitaph of Regina, from Rome (*CIJ* 476).

In the relevant Leontopolis and Demerdash entries below, the translations owe much to the felicitous renderings by D.M. Lewis in *CPJ*, but the English given has been freshly considered in each case. The commentary by E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte gréco-romaine* (1969), has been gratefully used, especially for information on the stones and for the author's scrutiny of readings and publications. In the comments here special attention has been given to the verses as *Jewish* inscriptions.

These funerary epigrams were accepted by Jewish patrons; there is usually nothing to show whether they are of Jewish or non-Jewish authorship, but they stand in the Greek literary tradition, which as a whole was admired and shared by Egyptian Jews. It is true that much Jewish verse in Greek from this period is not in the classical quantitative metres. Greek lines resembling the stressed Hebrew verse of the biblical tradition are the norm in the Greek versions of poetical passages in the Pentateuch, and of the Psalms and other poetical books, notably the translation of Ben Sira (Ecclesiasticus), produced for circulation in Egypt probably about 132 B.C. They also appear in work probably originally written in Greek, such as the later chapters of the Wisdom of Solomon. The acceptability of this non-quantitative Greek

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verse was probably aided by the loss in speech of the quantitative distinction between long and short vowels, a change which had taken place by the end of the Ptolemaic period, as unusual prosody in some of the metrical inscriptions attests. On the other hand it was Jewish practice (later followed by Christians) to describe biblical verse as if it were written in quantitative metre, partly perhaps to rebut any charge of barbarity (Philo, *V. Contempl.* 80; Josephus, *A.J.* ii 346 (Moses), iv 303 (Moses), vii 305 (David)). Further, Jews themselves also wrote according to the classical poetic norms; Greek Jewish verse current in Ptolemaic Egypt includes work in the quantitative metres, notably the hexameters of Sib. iii and the iambics of Ezekiel Tragicus. Philo was therefore probably typical of more educated Jews in his high regard for Homer, Hesiod and the tragedians. The metrical inscriptions fill a gap in knowledge of Jewish appreciation of Greek poetry, for they show that Jews also shared the current esteem for (and possibly shared the practice of) the tradition of epigrammatic verse.

Epigram flourished notably in early Ptolemaic Egypt, but under the later Ptolemies it is more fully represented on stone than in literature, and best represented by funerary epigrams (Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, i, 617). The Jewish metrical epitaphs therefore fit the pattern of attestation of Egyptian epigram in general. Despite the shortage of literary witness, the epigram as literature will have continued to attract interest in Egypt, as papyri confirm; a copy of verse made in the Memphis Serapeum by the detainee Ptolemaeus about 160 B.C. includes two epigrams of Poseidippus (Fraser, *ibid.*, ii, n.129; D.J. Thompson, *Memphis*, pp.260-1), and *P.Oxy.* 662 is an anthology of epigrams copied in the first century A.D., including one by Leonidas of Tarentum echoed in 38, below (Gow & Page, *Hellenistic epigrams*, ii, p.73; Zuntz, *JSS* 10, p.292). At this later period the court poet Leonides of Alexandria was a leader in the Roman vogue for epigram of ingenuity and polish, but this verse-form will no doubt also have continued to attract a public 'in the middle and humbler walks of life' (as urged by Gow & Page, *Philip*, i,

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p.xxxv). The variety of style and finish in the non-Jewish funerary epigrams of Egypt might correspondingly suggest differences of education as well as taste within the ranks of those who could afford this more elaborate form of epitaph.

The epigrams accepted by Jewish patrons in Egypt vary in style and finish as widely as those commemorating non-Jews. Almost all the surviving Jewish metrical epitaphs are in elegiac distichs, the most popular metre for funerary epigrams in general, but in 141 (Appendix 1) the first of two epigrams which form the epitaph is in iambics, giving a combination of metres which is also found elsewhere. At a very much lower level of composition, 37 and 40 consist of metrical tags which have not been shaped into verse proper. These, though short, are to some extent comparable with a series of somewhat longer non-Jewish epitaphs of the Roman period, which may contain no more than one or two fully metrical lines within an assemblage of tags (E. Bernand, *IM*, nos.13, 57, 81, 100); outside Egypt the Jewish epitaph Beth She'arim 183 is of this type.

The fully metrical Jewish epitaphs range from poems with much of the polish of literary epigram (Zuntz, *JSS* 10, pp.292-3 puts 38 and 31 in first and second place, respectively) to verse which can only be heard as such when account is taken of the phonetic changes of the Hellenistic period, and of the likelihood that elision was often used in speech but not represented in writing (Gignac, *Grammar*, i, pp.315, 319). Examples towards this end of the range are 29 and 34-6, broadly comparable within Egypt with the non-Jewish metrical epitaphs of Heraclitus and Telesion from the Ptolemaic period, or Politta from the imperial period (E. Bernand, *IM*, nos.12, 36 and 96). These more awkward compositions among the fully metrical Jewish epitaphs are not, however, so very far removed from metrical norms as is the late non-Jewish funerary epigram of Serapias, whose name seems simply to be inserted *extra metrum* (E. Bernand, *ibid.*, no.52). Jewish metrical epitaphs from Egypt, therefore, with all their variety, seem not to differ significantly in form

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and execution from their non-Jewish counterparts.

The verse of the Jewish epitaphs, then, is unlikely for the most part to have grated on the passers-by who answered their requests for notice. Only one or two excel as compositions (Zuntz, as cited above), especially when viewed against the background of *literary* epigram; but most come much closer to the standards of the literary tradition than do the tag-epitaphs of the Roman period noted above, and when they are set in this context of the body of *inscribed* epigrams, it can be affirmed that 'they are not without considerable technical accomplishment' (D.M. Lewis in *CPJ* iii, p.145). Moreover, they are often adorned and dignified by lively detail and feeling. To take examples from the middle range, four lines suffice to relate how Arsinoe lost her mother as a child, to be arrayed as a bride by her own flowering prime, and how, married to Phabeis, she died bearing her first-born (no.33); and the reiterated call to mourn the hapless Jesus is harshly impressive (no.34). The pieces accepted by Jewish patrons well deserve attention as funerary poems.

They have in fact been scrutinized mainly for signs of Jewish assimilation to or distinction from Greek religion and custom. Such inquiry is justified because, whether the epitaphs are of Jewish or non-Jewish authorship, they were accepted by Jewish patrons (see no.38, below). To summarize positions reached in the comments below, the epitaphs are unlikely to attest cremation (no.32); their mythological allusions reflect literary convention, but the hold of the myths on Jewish imagination should not be underestimated, particularly as they converge with the Jewish scriptures at a central point, the personification of Hades (no.31); and their passages on the afterlife belong to an area in which opinion among Jews and Greeks largely overlapped, and was similarly divided within each national tradition (no.38). Thus the many allusions in the epitaphs to a shadowy and mournful Hades have ample antecedent in the scriptures, and the relatively rare traces of future hopes have non-Jewish as well as Jewish analogies; distinctively biblical language expressing hope

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appears only in the epitaph of Rachelis (no.36). On the whole the epitaphs suggest the continuing acceptability among Jews in Egypt of what may broadly be called Sadducaic views on these matters; the verses often recall attitudes expressed in the Wisdom tradition, especially in the books of Job, Ecclesiastes and (with a little variation) Ecclesiasticus, in their Greek as well as Hebrew form, and the hope of immortality found in the Wisdom of Solomon and Philo is much less strongly represented. The range of views expressed, therefore, can properly be located within the Jewish as well as the Greek inheritance; there is no reason to see the metrical epitaphs as reflecting a distortion of Jewish tradition.

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1 (*CIJ* ii no.1427): Chatby, Alexandria; necropolis: perhaps late Ptolemaic. Epitaph painted in red ochre on plastered wall.

Unknown.

Text follows T.D. Néroutsos, *BIE* 13 (1874-5), p.229.

Ἰώσηπος KNEM (ἐτῶν) λδ'.

Néroutsos expanded the L symbol as (ἐτη)

Joseph *KNEM*, 34 years old.

T.D. Néroutsos, 'Mémoire sur les fouilles récentes faites à Alexandrie', *BIE* 13 (1874-5), p.229 (from the original); T.D. Néroutsos, *L'ancienne Alexandrie* (1888), p.82; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.357-8 no.1427; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.138 no.1427.

L. Zunz, *BIE* 14 (1875), p.27; S. de Ricci, 'Paleography', *JE* ix (1905), p.473; P.M. Fraser, 'Greek inscriptions (1952-3)', *JEA* 40 (1954), p.124; B.S.J. Isserlin, 'The names of the 72 translators of the Septuagint', *JANESCU* 5 (1973), p.192; S.M. Ruozzi Sala, *Lexicon nominum semiticorum* (1974), p.22; G. Delling, 'Biblisch-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten', *BSAC* 22 (1974-5), p.16 n.3; M. Hengel, *Jews, Greeks and barbarians* (1980), p.91 n.34; J. Méléze-Modrzejewski, 'Splendeurs grecques et misères romaines', in *Les juifs du Nil*, ed. J. Hassoun (1981), p.25; Schürer revised iii.i (1986), p.47; M. Hengel, 'The interpenetration of Judaism and Hellenism', *CHJ* ii (1989), p.193 n.3; J. Méléze-Modrzejewski, *Les juifs d'Égypte* (1991), p.69.

On Chatby, see Introduction, p.xiv, above. So little is known of the excavations in which nos.1 and 2 were discovered that dating is uncertain; if the inscriptions can be associated with the finds of ossuaries, the latter would point to a date not before the late first century B.C., in view of the dates usually assigned to the practice of ossuary burial, but these dates are themselves far from fixed (Figueras, *Ossuaries*, p.1).

Joseph was reckoned by Tcherikover to be the third most common Jewish name in the papyri, appearing most frequently with this spelling (Tcherikover, *Jews in Egypt*, p.182); in the material surveyed in *CPJ*, including ostraca and this inscription, D. Rokeah identifies eighteen bearers of the name spelt exactly as here, from the third or second century B.C. to the early second century A.D., as opposed to three whose name is spelt with φ (add no.12, below) (*CPJ* iii, pp.182-3). The Greek letters KNEM here and

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in no.2 have been thought to abbreviate a formula like those common in later Hebrew epitaphs; L. Zunz suggested $\text{Κεῖται Νῦν 'Εν Μακαρίοις}$ on the analogy of similar formulae surveyed in his *Zur Geschichte und Literatur* (1845), pp.304-7, but Fraser, p.124, classes this among unconvincing solutions. This judgement seems right, for if such formulae were current, they might have been expected to appear more often, and in general the surviving Egyptian Jewish epitaphs show little sign of the tendency to biblical allusion with which many later formulae are connected. Mr J.D. Ray kindly informs us that the letters do not readily suggest a Demotic word or phrase. An unexplained abbreviation or symbol occurs after the number of years in no.106, below.

Néroutsos reproduced this inscription and no.2 in his *Alexandrie*, p.82, with the ages transposed by comparison with his first publication in *BIE* 13; Philon is now given the age 34, and Joseph that of 50. The entries here follow Néroutsos's first publication.

2 (CIJ ii no.1428): Chatby, Alexandria; necropolis: perhaps late Ptolemaic. Epitaph painted in red ochre on plastered wall.

Unknown.

Text follows T.D. Néroutsos, *BIE* 13 (1874-5), p.229 (see no.1, above); his conjectural restoration is given in the note.

$\Phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omega\nu\ 'Ι\pi\pi[\dots] \text{KNEM} (\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omega\nu) \nu'$.

Néroutsos expanded the L symbol as ($\xi\eta$)

$\'Ι\pi\pi[\dots]$: Néroutsos, followed by *CIJ* $\'Ι\pi\pi[\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\upsilon]$

Philon son of Hipp... *KNEM*, 50 years old.

T.D. Néroutsos, 'Mémoire sur les fouilles récentes faites à Alexandrie', *BIE* 13 (1874-5), p.229 (from the original); T.D. Néroutsos, *L'ancienne Alexandrie* (1888), p.82; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.358 no.1428; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.139 no.1428.

B.S.J. Isserlin, 'The names of the 72 translators of the Septuagint', *JANESCU* 5 (1973), p.192; M. Hengel, *Jews, Greeks and barbarians* (1980), p.91 n.34; J. Mélèze-Modrzejewski, 'Splendeurs grecques et misères romaines', in *Les juifs du Nil*, ed. J. Hassoun (1981), p.25; Schürer revised iii.i (1986), p.47; M. Hengel, 'The interpenetration of Judaism and

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Hellenism', *CHJ* ii (1989), p.193 n.3; J. Méléze-Modrzejewski, *Les juifs d'Égypte* (1991), p.69.

The name Philon, conventionally transliterated as Philo, was borne by Jews including the epic poet who wrote on Jerusalem (quoted by Alexander Polyhistor in the first century B.C.; see Schürer revised, iii.i, pp.559-61), the Alexandrian philosopher of the first century A.D., and two persons named in ostraca of the first century A.D. (Rokeah in *CPJ* iii, p.195); the related names Philous and Philoution were also used by Jews (no.80, below). The restoration of the second name as Hippolytus would give a name found in the Roman Christian community at the beginning of the third century A.D., but not attested among Jews in Egypt; Méléze-Modrzejewski, *Les juifs d'Égypte*, p.69 notes that Hippostratus is also possible; Hippodamus, a third possibility, does occur as a Jewish name (*CPJ* 30.i,2; second century B.C.). See no.1, above, for comments on the date and the letters *KNEM*.

3 (Plate III; *CIJ* ii no.1424): El-Ibrahimiya, Alexandria; necropolis: early Ptolemaic. Painted stucco; epitaph; Aramaic with Hebrew proper names.

Alexandria Museum.

Text follows C. Clermont-Ganneau, *RAO* viii, pp.61-5.

עקביה

בר אליועי

ני

Akabiah son of Elioenai.

C. Clermont-Ganneau, 'L'antique nécropole juive d'Alexandrie', *CRAI* (1907), pp.236-9 (photograph on p.237) and pp.375-6 = *RAO* viii (1907), pp.61-5 and pl.ii (from tracing and photograph); E. Breccia, 'La necropoli dell'Ibrahimieh', *BSAA* 9 (1907), pp.38-41, fig.10; M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* iii (1915), p.49; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.356 no.1424; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.138 no.1424; J. Méléze-Modrzejewski, *Les juifs d'Égypte* (1991), pp.67-8 (facsimile).

E. Schürer, *Geschichte* iii (1909), pp.41f.; L. Fuchs, *Die Juden Aegyptens* (1924), pp.7-8; H. Leclercq, 'Judaïsme', *DACL* viii.i (1932), cols.235-6; E.M. Forster, *Alexandria: a history and a guide* (1938), p.111; S. Calderone, 'Per la storia dell'elemento giudaico nella Sicilia imperiale', *RAL* (1955), p.493 n.4;

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A. Kasher, 'Three Jewish communities of Lower Egypt', *SCIsr* 2 (1975), p.115 n.9; M. Hengel, *Jews, Greeks and barbarians* (1980), p.91 n.34; J. Mélèze-Modrzejewski, 'Splendeurs grecques et misères romaines', in *Les juifs du Nil*, ed. J. Hassoun (1981), p.25; A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (1985), p.108 n.4a; Schürer revised iii.i (1986), p.47; M. Hengel, 'The interpenetration of Judaism and Hellenism', *CHJ* ii (1989), p.193 n.3.

On El-Ibrahimiya, see Introduction, pp.xiv-xv, above, and P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* i, p.33 (literature). The dating of nos.3-8 derives mainly from the dating of the cemetery as a whole, which is bound up with that of the eastern necropolis (Chatby, Hadra, Ibrahimiya) in general (see Introduction, p.xiv, above). In 1907 Breccia noted that in this El-Ibrahimiya cemetery two coins of Ptolemy I were found in one loculus, and others of Ptolemy I and II in the sand outside the tombs; further, the palaeography of the Greek inscriptions and the form of the stelae suit an epoch not too far advanced in the Ptolemaic period, and Roman features are entirely lacking. Breccia concluded that this cemetery was in full development not long after Ptolemy I, if not already during his reign, and that the latest parts were not later than the middle of the first century B.C. (Breccia, 'Ibrahimieh', pp.65-7). The general likelihood of an early Ptolemaic date for part of the necropolis is confirmed by discoveries at Chatby and Hadra (see Introduction). Jewish inscriptions were found among those of non-Jews, as in later discoveries at Hadra and Mustafa Pasha (nos.10-12, below). Ibrahimiya is therefore less likely to be the ancient 'Jewish necropolis' of Alexandria, as suggested by Clermont-Ganneau, than a place where Jews and non-Jews with some common link were buried. Breccia accordingly suggested that the Ibrahimiya Jewish graves were those of mercenaries (Breccia, 'Ibrahimieh', pp.40-2, 67-8; id., *Egitto greco e romano* (3rd ed., Pisa, 1957), pp.173-4).

Clermont-Ganneau judged that the script of no.3 closely recalled Jewish Aramaic documents of the fifth century B.C., but that, given the location of the find, the grave must be early Ptolemaic; Lidzbarski opted for the third to the second century B.C. (Clermont-Ganneau, *CRAI* (1907), pp.237-9 = *RAO* viii, pp.62-4; Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* iii, p.49). Even apart from arguments from palaeography, however, there is a fair probability, since a Ptolemaic dating for the cemetery as a whole is likely, that a Jewish epitaph in Semitic script would be early Ptolemaic. The great majority of known Ptolemaic and early Roman Jewish epitaphs from Alexandria and Egypt are Greek, and this Semitic inscription would then reflect the circumstances of immigrants who were not yet linguistically assimilated. Comparably, the handful of

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Jewish papyri and ostraca written in Aramaic but including Greek names are usually assigned to the early Ptolemaic period (Cowley, *Aramaic papyri*, nos.81-2; Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, ii, pp.243-8, iii, pp.22-6; comment in C.C. Torrey, *Aramaic graffiti*, pp.4-5). It might similarly be suggested tentatively that, if an inscription from Tell el-Yehoudieh was rightly identified as Semitic (Introduction, p.xviii, above), it would reflect a stage when some members of that particular Jewish immigration were not yet using Greek for preference; the date in this instance would be the 2nd century B.C., given the identification of the community with the followers of Onias. The probability of this line of argument is only fair, however, for the total number of epitaphs known is relatively small, and Aramaic or Hebrew speakers might have formed a group within an immigrant community for some time after arrival. Aramaic-speaking Jews were probably known in Alexandria in Philo's time (the satirical Greek cries of 'Marin' during Agrippa I's visit in A.D.38 (Philo, *Flacc.* 39) would otherwise have lost part of their point, although Philo himself connects them only with Agrippa's reputation as a Syrian king); once again, recent immigrants may be in question. Similarly, Torrey emphasized that in Acts xxi 37-8 the tribune Claudius Lysias is represented as assuming that 'the Egyptian' who stirred up unrest in Judaea will not know Greek (Torrey, *Demanhur*, p.6). The Nash Papyrus attests use of the Decalogue and Shema' in Hebrew in the later Ptolemaic period (W.F. Albright, 'A biblical fragment from the Maccabaeon age: the Nash Papyrus', *JBL* 56 (1937), pp.143-76; G. Vermes, *Post-Biblical Jewish studies* (Leiden, 1975), pp.169-177).

For the retention of names in Hebrew form in an Aramaic text, compare Aramaic papyri, for instance Cowley, *Aram. Pap.* 82 l.2 (Delaiah bar H[aggai], Shib'ah bar Obadiah); an Aramaic ossuary inscription of the first century A.D. from Judaea can also include a short Hebrew formula (D. Barag & D. Flusser, 'The ossuary of Yehoḥanah, granddaughter of the High Priest Theophilus', *IEJ* 36 (1986), pp.39-44 (41)).

The name Akabiah occurs in Aramaic form with final $\aleph$ as the name of a son of the high priest Ha[naniah] in a Masada jar inscription in Aramaic (Barag & Flusser, 'Yehoḥanah', p.41 n.8), and (with initial as well as final $\aleph$) as the second component of the double name Jehoezer Akabia, on two ossuaries from the first-century A.D. Goliath sepulchre at Jericho (Hachlili, 'Goliath family', pp.48, 54). In literature, Akabiah is found in post-biblical sources (e.g. Mishnah, *Eduyoth* v 6-7; the related name Akiba, e.g. *Berakhoth* iv 3), but the related name Akkub is biblical; note I Chron. iii 24, Akkub, one of the sons of Elioenai. Biblical Eliehoenai or Elioenai (e.g. I

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Chron. iii 23-4, Ezra viii 4, Neh. xii 41) recurs as the name of a high priest in Josephus, *Ant.* xix 342 (Elionaeus); Mishnah, Parah iii 5 (Eliehoenai). Elienai is attested on a Hebrew seal of the first century A.D.; see N. Avigad, 'The seal of Elienai', *Eretz-Israel* 16 (1982), pp.1 ff. and pl.A.

If the Akabiah of this inscription was of priestly descent, a possibility suggested by the attestations of the two names, that would not be incompatible with Breccia's suggestion that these Jews were military settlers; the sons of the high priest Onias IV were generals of Cleopatra III (Josephus, *Ant.* xiii 285-7, 348-55; cf. no.129 below).

The inscription is painted in red, in large characters, within a border in the shape of an undivided portal, rectangular at the base and irregularly rounded towards an obtuse-angled point at the head, 89 cm. high in all (Clermont-Ganneau, *CRAI* (1907) p.236 = *RAO* viii, pp.61-2; Breccia, *BSAA* 9, pp.38 & 40).

4 (*CIJ* ii no.1425): El-Ibrahimiya, Alexandria (see no.3); necropolis: early Ptolemaic. Painted stucco; epitaph (?); Aramaic or Hebrew. Alexandria Museum.

Text follows C. Clermont-Ganneau, *RAO* viii, pp.69-71.

בִּים

[.....]חליל

On the tenth day Apollo(dorus?)

C. Clermont-Ganneau, 'L'antique nécropole juive d'Alexandrie', *CRAI* (1907), pp.378-9 = *RAO* viii (1907), pp.69-71 and pl.v (from tracing and photograph); M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* iii (1915), p.50; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.356-7 no.1425; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.138 no.1425.

B.S.J. Isserlin, 'The names of the 72 translators of the Septuagint', *JANESCU* 5 (1973), p.192; A. Kasher, 'Three Jewish communities of Lower Egypt', *SCIsr* 2 (1975), p.115 n.9; M. Hengel, *Jews, Greeks and barbarians* (1980), p.91 n.34; J. Mélèze-Modrzejewski, 'Splendeurs grecques et misères romaines', in *Les juifs du Nil*, ed. J. Hassoun (1981), p.25; A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (1985), p.108 n.4a; Schürer revised iii.i (1986), p.47; M. Hengel, 'The interpenetration of Judaism and Hellenism', *CHJ* ii (1989), p.193 n.3; J. Mélèze-Modrzejewski, *Les juifs d'Égypte* (1991),

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p.69.

The inscription is painted in red on stucco applied to the rock face. On the dating, see no.3, above. In l.2, a letter resembling ט can be seen after י in the copy as reproduced by Clermont-Ganneau, *RAO* viii (1907), p.69. He emphasizes the poor quality of the copy and the uncertainty of the transcription. The restoration Apollo[dorus] assumes that the letter after י is indeed ט, but gives a name otherwise unattested among Egyptian Jews. Méleze-Modrzejewski, *Les juifs d'Égypte*, p.67, well suggests Apollonius, noting that it occurs as a Jewish name at least four times in Greek papyri, although at a later date. To these may be added, however, the attestation of Apollonius in the possibly contemporary Aramaic Jewish papyrus, Cowley, *Aram. Pap.* 81, l.64 ܐܡܠܝܢ. If this suggestion is right, the spelling of the name in the epitaph will have been fuller than in the Aramaic papyrus. It is therefore advisable to keep open the possibility of another name, perhaps reading ܐܡܠܝ = Aphuli; the Hebrew proper names 'ply and 'pwli (?Aphli, Aphili, Aphuli) are attested respectively in a pre-exilic seal and in an Aramaic Elephantine papyrus of 437 B.C. (G.I. Davies, *Ancient Hebrew inscriptions*, s.vv.; E.G. Kraeling, *Aramaic Papyri*, p.155 no.3 l.4 and l.21). Nevertheless, given the popularity of the name Apollonius over a long period beginning with the probable time of this inscription, it is a strong suggestion.

5 (Plate IV; *CIJ* ii no.1426): El-Ibrahimiya, Alexandria (see no.3); necropolis: early Ptolemaic. Painted stucco; Aramaic letters and numerals.

Alexandria Museum.

Text follows M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* iii, p.50 (see final paragraph of comment).

ד מ	4 3
ת ר	3 3

[Right-hand column]	20	1000
	20	20

[Left-hand column] *dmtr* (?Demetrius)

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C. Clermont-Ganneau, 'L'antique nécropole juive d'Alexandrie', *CRAI* (1907), pp.242-3 (photograph on p.241) = *RAO* viii (1907), pp.66-7 and pl.iii (from tracing and photograph); M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* iii (1915), p.50; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.357 no.1426; E.R. Goodenough, *Jewish symbols* ii (1958), p.62; iii fig.864 (photograph); *CPJ* iii (1964), p.138 no.1426.

A. Kasher, 'Three Jewish communities of Lower Egypt', *SCIsr* 2 (1975), p.115 n.9; M. Hengel, *Jews, Greeks and barbarians* (1980), p.91 n.34; J. Méléze-Modrzejewski, 'Splendeurs grecques et misères romaines', in *Les juifs du Nil*, ed. J. Hassoun (1981), p.25; A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (1985), p.108 n.4a; Schürer revised iii.i (1986), p.47; M. Hengel, 'The interpenetration of Judaism and Hellenism', *CHJ* ii (1989), p.193 n.3; J. Méléze-Modrzejewski, *Les juifs d'Égypte* (1991), p.69.

In the original (see Plate IV) the script is uniform in both columns, but in the transcription above characters representing the forms in the original appear in the right-hand column, here interpreted as presenting numerals, and conventional Hebrew square characters in the left-hand column, here interpreted as presenting letters.

The characters were 'executed with care and very well presented' (Clermont-Ganneau, *RAO* viii, p.66), but the reading is uncertain partly because the general sense of the inscription is unclear. Clermont-Ganneau held that it was likely to be an epitaph, but because of the difficulty of discerning a name in the right-hand column he very tentatively suggested that some of the characters in this column might read as numerals rather than letters, the left-hand column as the name Demetr[us], and that the whole might then be understood as indicating the particular position of Demetrius's burial. He brought into this interpretation a mark (read as *aleph*, *ibid.*, p.67, n.1) which appeared to the right of the upper line of the right-hand column in the tracing but not the photograph, and which he regarded as only very doubtfully a character, especially as a character in that position would have disturbed the symmetry of the arrangement (*ibid.*, p.66, n.1); this mark on the copy should probably be disregarded, as he himself suggests, but some form of his interpretation could stand without it.

Lidzbarski affirmed that the right-hand column should be read as numerals, that there seemed to be no character to the right of the upper line of this column, and that the four characters on the left might represent the name Demetrius; but he did not think it possible that, as Clermont-Ganneau held, the left-hand character of the upper line of numerals could be *mem* (like the somewhat similar second character in the upper line of *letters*); it

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was more likely to be the numerical sign for 1000. If Clermont-Ganneau's reading were to be allowed, however, the values in the first line of numerals would be 20 40.

In view of the care given to the inscription and its outline, in which it is comparable with the nearby inscription of Akabiah (no.3) and that of Psyllas (no.8, where the painted outline is similarly elaborated at the top), it seems likely that it is indeed meant to indicate a particular burial place, in the same way as those inscriptions which clearly give names.

The division of the name Psyllas (no.8, Plate IV) into two lines within one of two columns formed by the outline suggests that here too the characters may be read consecutively within each column, but no name can readily be discerned in the right-hand column (*sm(?)ss*), and it therefore seems best provisionally to accept the interpretation of these characters as numerals, perhaps indicating a particular position or positions within the tomb, and the interpretation of the left-hand column as *dmtr* = Demetrius (found as a Jewish name in a second-century B.C. papyrus, *CPJ* 28.19).

It is perhaps just worth noting one further possibility, that of reading across the two columns from right to left, taking the first column as two sets of numerals and the second as two abbreviated names, to give (1.1) 20 40 (?) Dem(etrius) (?); (1.2) 20 20 Theod(orus) (?) (Clermont-Ganneau gave ר as an alternative reading of the letter transcribed ר above; for Theodorus, see the ostrakon published by Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* ii, p.243, and Sachau, *Elephantine*, i, pp.230-3 [there spelt תוררס; here the defective spelling תורס is presupposed]; it is often a Jewish name in Greek ostraca and papyri, from the first half of the second century B.C. onwards [*CPJ* iii, p.177]).

The general likelihood that this is a Jewish inscription stems from its position close to no.3, but confirmation is lacking because of the uncertainties of interpretation.

Eight characters corresponding to Aramaic letters and numerals symmetrically arranged in two painted columns formed by an outline in the shape of a portal or framework, each column containing four characters.

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6 (CIJ ii no.1429): El-Ibrahimiya, Alexandria (see no.3); necropolis: early Ptolemaic. Epitaph painted in large red characters on outer wall of loculus.

Alexandria Museum.

Text follows E. Breccia, *Iscrizioni* no.253, p.136.

Ἰωάν|να Εὐφ|ροσύνη.

Joanna Euphrosyne.

E. Breccia, 'La necropoli dell' Ibrahimieh', *BSAA* 9 (1907), pp.38-42 and 53-6 (from the original); C. Clermont-Ganneau, 'L'antique nécropole juive d'Alexandrie', *CRAI* (1907), p.235 = *RAO* viii (1907), pp.60-1 (from copy supplied by Breccia); J. Oehler, 'Epigraphische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Judentums', *MGWJ* 53 (1909), p.450 n.223; E. Breccia, *Iscrizioni* (1911), p.136 no.253 (from the original); *SB* i (1915), p.43 no.457; L. Fuchs, *Die Juden Aegyptens* (1924), p.68 n.18; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.358 no.1429; *CPJ* i (1957), p.28 n.70; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.139 no.1429.

A. Neppi Modona, 'La vita pubblica e privata degli ebrei in Egitto', *Aegyptus* 3 (1922), p.40; H. Leclercq, 'Judaïsme', *DACL* viii.i (1932), cols.234-5; S.M. Ruozzi Sala, *Lexicon nominum semiticorum* (1974), p.21; G. Dellling, 'Biblisch-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten', *BSAC* 22 (1974-5), p.14; M. Hengel, *Jews, Greeks and barbarians* (1980), p.91 n.34; J. Méléze-Modrzejewski, 'Splendeurs grecques et misères romaines', in *Les juifs du Nil*, ed. J. Hassoun (1981), p.25; Schürer revised iii.i (1986), p.47; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.33, p.125 no.729; M. Hengel, 'The interpenetration of Judaism and Hellenism', *CHJ* ii (1989), p.193 n.3; J. Méléze-Modrzejewski, *Les juifs d'Égypte* (1991), p.69.

The originally Hebrew Jo[h]anna, a feminine form of the widespread Hebrew J(eh)ohanan, John (Neh. xii 13, etc.), was not uncommon in Greek in Egypt (three instances including this in Rokeah, 'Prosopography', *CPJ* iii, p.182); the female name Jehohan (יהוח) was current in the Persian period among the Jews of Elephantine (e.g. Cowley, *Aram. Pap.*, no.20, ll.2, 21, 23), and in the Greek and Roman period Jehohannah and Joanna were quite widely used in Palestine (eight instances in Ilan, 'Women's names', p.195, no.XXXIV). The Greek Euphrosyne could have been taken as nominal ('Mirth' or 'Joy'), or adjectival ('Merry' or 'Joyful'). Adjectival understanding here is suggested by the later occurrence of the male adjectival form

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Euphrosynus in Jewish use (Lifshitz, *Donateurs*, no.24 [Sardis]); compare the adjectival Simotera and Horaia (7 and 32, below).

Double names were widely used by Jews in Egypt (over twenty instances, including this and 127, below, in Tcherikover, *CPJ* i, p.28 n.70) and Cyrenaica (see Index), as elsewhere (e.g. Jehoezer Akabia in Jericho [Hachlili, 'Goliath', p.53]). Occasionally Hebrew and Greek names were combined with intentional correspondence of meaning, but this practice implies knowledge of both languages, and most Egyptian Jewish double names show no sign of inner connection (Tcherikover, *Jews in Egypt*, pp.192-3 and *CPJ* i, p.28). In this case the possibility of an intentional correspondence between Greek 'Joy' and the Hebrew name suggesting the thought of divine 'Grace' is noted by Méléze-Modrzejewski, 'Splendeurs', pp.24-5; this could be supported from the biblical association of *euphrosyne* with redemption, seen e.g. at Deut. xxx 9, Ecclus ii 9 and Ps.Sol. xiv 6 (all quoted in comment on 36, below). It seems more likely, however, that the Greek name is adjectival. Probably this double name is one of the majority which have no inner link of meaning.

Plaster slab, 70 x 84 cm. Letter forms: A E C Ω.

7 (CIJ ii no.1430): El-Ibrahimiya, Alexandria (see no.3); necropolis: early Ptolemaic. Epitaph painted on slab closing loculus.

Alexandria Museum.

Text follows C. Clermont-Ganneau, *RAO* viii, p.60.

Σμοτέρη | Ἡλιοδώρου | Σιδωνία.

Simotera daughter of Heliodorus, a woman of Sidon.

E. Breccia, 'La necropoli dell'Ibrahimieh', *BSAA* 9 (1907), p.58 (facsimile p.54); C. Clermont-Ganneau, 'L'antique nécropole juive d'Alexandrie', *CRAI* (1907), pp.234, 241-2 = *RAO* viii (1907), pp.60, 65 (from copy supplied by Breccia); J. Oehler, 'Epigraphische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Judentums', *MGWJ* 53 (1909), p.450 no.224; E. Breccia, *Iscrizioni* (1911), p.135 no.251 (facsimile; misprint in minuscule transcription); L. Fuchs, *Die Juden Aegyptens* (1924), p.67 n.16; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.359 no.1430; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.139 no.1430.

A. Neppi Modona, 'La vita pubblica e privata degli ebrei in Egitto', *Aegyptus* 3 (1922), p.40; H. Leclercq, 'Judaïsme', *DACL* viii.i (1932), col.235; G. Delling,

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'Biblisch-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten', *BSAC* 22 (1974-5), p.12; M. Hengel, *Jews, Greeks and barbarians* (1980), p.91 n.34; J. Mélèze-Modrzejewski, 'Splendeurs grecques et misères romaines', in *Les juifs du Nil*, ed. J. Hassoun (1981), p.25; Schürer revised iii.i (1986), p.47; M. Hengel, 'The interpenetration of Judaism and Hellenism', *CHJ* ii (1989), p.193 n.3; J. Mélèze-Modrzejewski, *Les juifs d'Égypte* (1991), p.69.

On the dating, see no.3, above. The name Simotera, 'snub-nosed' (Bechtel, *Personennamen*, p.490), is here borne by a Syrian woman who was perhaps also Jewish. She was viewed as probably Jewish by Frey, especially on the strength of other Jewish burials here, notably nos.3 and 6; but as Syrian, perhaps representing a community living on neighbourly terms with the Alexandrian Jews, by Clermont-Ganneau, *CRAI* (1907), p.242 = *RAO* viii (1907), p.65. The name Heliodorus is not attested in Syrian Jewish inscriptions (*CIJ* 803-81, amplified in Schürer revised, iii.i, pp.13-15, and by D. Bloedhorn in M. Hengel, 'Der alte und der neue "Schürer"', *JSS* 35 (1990), pp.65-6). It remains fairly probable, if uncertain, that Simotera represents the strong Sidonian Jewish community (see Josephus, *B.J.* ii 479, Schürer revised, *ibid.*, pp.14-15, and Bloedhorn in Hengel, *ibid.*, p.66); for the phrasing, compare *Beth She'arim* no.172: ἡ μάκρᾳ Ἀριστέου Σιδωνίου, 'the sepulchre of Aristes of Sidon'.

Plaster slab, 79 x 58 cm. Letter forms: Α Ε ° C Ω.

8 (Plate IV; *CIJ* ii no.1431): El-Ibrahimiya, Alexandria (see no.3); necropolis: early Ptolemaic. Epitaph painted in upper part of left-hand division of painted outline of double portal.

Alexandria Museum.

Text follows C. Clermont-Ganneau, *RAO* viii, p.68.

Ψ6λ|λας.

Psyllas.

E. Breccia, 'La necropoli dell'Ibrahimieh', *BSAA* 9 (1907), p.56; C. Clermont-Ganneau, 'L'antique nécropole juive d'Alexandrie', *CRAI* (1907), pp.377-378 (photograph on p.376) = *RAO* viii (1907), pp.68-9 and pl.iv; E. Breccia, *Iscrizioni* (1911), p.136 no.255 (from the original); *SB* i (1915), p.43 no.458; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.359-360 no.1431; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.139 no.1431.

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B.S.J. Isserlin, 'The names of the 72 translators of the Septuagint', *JANESCU* 5 (1973), p.192; A. Kasher, 'Three Jewish communities of Lower Egypt', *SCIsr* 2 (1975), p.115 n.9; M. Hengel, *Jews, Greeks and barbarians* (1980), p.91 n.34; J. Mélèze-Modrzejewski, 'Splendeurs grecques et misères romaines', in *Les juifs du Nil*, ed. J. Hassoun (1981), p.25; Schürer revised iii.i (1986), p.47; M. Hengel, 'The interpenetration of Judaism and Hellenism', *CHJ* ii (1989), p.193 n.3; J. Mélèze-Modrzejewski, *Les juifs d'Égypte* (1991), p.69.

On the dating, see no.3, above. The painted outline is comparable with that of no.5, above. Clermont-Ganneau suggested that the Greek name (probably formed from ψύλλα, 'flea') might here be the equivalent of the Hebrew proper name פשרה, 'flea' (Neh. vii 8, x 14, etc.; cf. G.I. Davies, *Ancient Hebrew inscriptions*, s.v.). If so, the name might be a deliberate attempt to represent Hebrew nomenclature in Greek, presupposing circumstances in which both languages were known (compare the notes on 7, above). Otherwise, proximity to definitely Jewish burials is the only argument for taking this inscription as Jewish.

Plaster slab, 89 x 63 cm. Letter forms: A Σ.

9 (CIJ ii no.1433): Hadra, Alexandria: 2nd century B.C. (?). Plaque; dedication of proseuche.

Alexandria Museum.

Text follows D.M. Lewis, *CPJ* iii no.1433, p.139 (based on *CIJ* photograph), with a query added to the restoration in l.4 and with *vacat* after l.5 omitted.

[- - -] | [- - θε]ῶι ὑψίστῳ | [- - τ]ὸν ἱερὸν | [περίβολον (?)
καὶ] τὴν προσ[ευχὴν καὶ τὰ συγ]κύροντα.

[- - τ] (l.3): restored to [ἐπηκόῳ τ] by *CIJ*

.... to God, the Highest the sacred precinct and the
proseuche and its appurtenances

E. Breccia, 'Cronaca del Museo e degli scavi e ritrovamenti', *BSAA* 9 (1907), pp.100-101 no.5; E. Breccia, *Iscrizioni* (1911), p.72 no.116 (from the original);

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SB i (1915), p.47 no.589; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.360-1 no.1433 (photograph); *CPJ* iii (1964), pp.139-140 no.1433; B. Lifshitz, *Donateurs* (1967), p.76 no.87; P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* i (1972), p.284; ii, pp.164 n.136, 441 n.766; Schürer revised ii (1979), pp.425-6, n.5(h).

L. Fuchs, *Die Juden Aegyptens* (1924), p.131; A. Kasher, 'Three Jewish communities of Lower Egypt', *SCIsr* 2 (1975), p.116 n.19, p.118 n.27, p.121 n.45; P.E. Dion, 'Synagogues et temples', *Science et Esprit* 29 (1977), pp.55, 60; M. Hengel, *Jews, Greeks and barbarians* (1980), p.95 n.15; A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (1985), pp.110 n.6, 111 n.10, 115 n.23, 138 n.95, 223 n.63, 258 n.93; G.H.R. Horsley, *New documents* iii (1986), p.121; M. Hengel, 'The interpenetration of Judaism and Hellenism', *CHJ* ii (1989), p.197 n.6; P. Trebilco, *Jewish communities in Asia Minor* (1991), p.133 & n.27.

On Hadra, see Introduction, p.xiv, above, and P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* i, p.33 (literature). This fragment was found among rubbish (see Breccia, *Iscrizioni*, no.116). περίβολον, if it is the correct supplement, is likely to refer to the surrounding wall. συγκύροντα, here and in no.25, probably include adjuncts such as the gateway (no.24) (Hengel, 'Stobi', p.165 and n.68), but the term often refers to holdings of land (Fraser & Rumpf, 'Two Ptolemaic dedications', p.68).

The use of proseuche to mean a building makes Jewishness virtually certain, especially in conjunction with a common Jewish epithet for God, ὕψιστος. The word proseuche is used in this sense in nine other Egyptian inscriptions, of which nos.22, 24, 25, 27 and 117 are explicitly Jewish; in no.105, below, proseuche is a possible restoration in an inscription from Tell el-Yehoudieh. Proseuche was the usual term for a Jewish place of prayer throughout the Diaspora until at least the 1st century A.D., both in inscriptions (e.g. Lifshitz, *Donateurs* no.3 (Delos), 11 (Black Sea), 35 (Paphlagonia)) and literature (e.g. Juvenal iii 296; Acts xvi 13, Josephus, *Vita* 54). It was gradually replaced by συναγωγή, but was still in use in the 4th century (*CIRB* 64; Epiphanius, *Pan.* lxxx 1; Hengel, 'Proseuche und Synagoge', pp.172-3, 179). In Egypt, it survived until at least the 3rd century (*CPJ* 432 col.III.57 (113 A.D.), 129 (281 A.D.)). In the few cases where its Jewishness has been questioned, it is likely that it is used in the sense of 'prayer' rather than to denote a building (I. Levinskaya, 'A Jewish or gentile prayer house? The meaning of ΠΡΟΣΕΥΧΗ', *Tyndale Bulletin* 41 (1990), pp.154-9).

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Fragmentary marble plaque, 15 x 21 cm. Letter forms: Α Ε Γ Σ Ω.

10: Hadra, Alexandria; necropolis: late 3rd–mid 2nd century B.C. Epitaph painted in red.

Alexandria Museum.

Text follows E. Breccia, *BSAA* 25 (1930), p.108 (majuscule text).

Ἡδιννα. | Ἡδιννα ἡ Μαρδοχαίου.

Hedinna. Hedinna the (daughter) of Mordecai.

E. Breccia, 'Nuovi scavi nelle necropoli di Hadra', *BSAA* 25 (1930), pp.108, 131 (from the original); *SEG* viii (1937), p.65 no.418; *SB* v (1955), p.117 no.7775; W. Horbury, 'The name Mardochaeus in a Ptolemaic inscription', *VT* 41 (1991), pp.220-6.

E. Bickerman, *The Jews in the Greek age* (1988), p.87.

This inscription was found during excavations at the Hadra necropolis in 1925-6. It was in an area which had been damaged considerably by movements of the ground, and where the burials were in loculi arranged in rows and closed by pseudo-portals ('A' on Breccia's map of the site, pl.XXIII; the pseudo-portals were taken to the Alexandria Museum). Breccia dated the burials to the end of the 3rd century B.C. or first half of the 2nd century. The name Hedinna alone was written over a loculus, and the name with the patronymic was painted in small red letters above a painted cornice on the pseudo-portal. The decoration also included a column with a rough capital, painted in reddish-brown and blue, surmounted by a funerary urn in red.

Breccia read the first name Ἡδιννα; compare the feminine name Ἐδνα, *LXX Tobit* vii 2 etc. It is taken above as a formation from ἡδῆς on the analogy of Philinna; compare *CIJ* 1324 Ἡδῆα, on a Jerusalem ossuary. Another interpretation, suggested to Breccia (p.131) by Rabbi D. Prato, is that it is a form of the Hebrew Dinah (דִּינָה), the name of Jacob's daughter (*Gen.* xxx 21, etc.). Neither the deceased woman's name nor that of her father is otherwise attested in Egypt. The father's name is a Greek version of Mordecai, which was the name of a companion of Zerubbabel (*Hebrew text of Ezra* ii 2 = *Neh.* vii 7) and of Esther's cousin, a leading Jewish exile at Susa (e.g. *Est.* ii 5). The Greek name is spelt as here in many of its *LXX* occurrences (*I Esd.* v 8 and elsewhere). The Hebrew name derived from the Accadian divine name Marduk, Aramaic forms of which were used as

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personal names by non-Jews in the Persian period. The known associations of the Hebrew name are with Palestine and the east, and Hedinna's father may have been an immigrant; but note that probably already in the 2nd century Jews kept 'the Mardochean day' (II Macc. xv 36), perhaps also in Egypt, and the feast might have fostered currency of the name (Horbury, pp.221-4).

Breccia (p.107) noted another nearby inscription, only partially legible, with what he took as a reference to or an ethnic derived from the Palestinian city of Arimathaea: the letters APIMATHA could be read, and he thought there might also be Semitic names. He interpreted another epitaph from the same site (pp.102-3) as that of an Etruscan, and thought that the mixture of races implied that the people buried in the necropolis were mercenaries and their families (cf. no.3, above, for the similar view he expressed about burials at el-Ibrahimiya).

Breccia also published in an earlier article (BSAA 20 (1924), p.272 no.14) another text from Hadra with the feminine form of a name much used by Jews: Ἀριστοβούλη, painted in black on a white limestone stele with a small pediment and a tympanum above the field and a crown within it below the name.

Hedinna inscription: Epitaph painted in small red characters on pseudo-portal closing loculus. Letter forms: A.

11 (Plate V): Mustafa Pasha, Alexandria; necropolis: late Ptolemaic or A.D. 3/4 (?). Sarcophagus; epitaph painted in red.

Alexandria Museum.

Text follows E. Breccia, *Le musée gréco-romain*, p.22 (majuscule text).

Μαριάμη | χρηστὴ χαῖ|ρε (ἔτους) [or (ἐτῶν)] λγ' ΚΙΩ^ΥΑΡ.

Μαριάμη χρηστὴ (Il.1-2): SB Μαριάμη ἡ χρηστὴ
(ἔτους) [or (ἐτῶν)] λγ' ΚΙΩ^ΥΑΡ (l.3): SEG (ἔτους) γ', κγ' (?) Ἀθούρ

Mariame, excellent woman, farewell. In the 33rd year [or aged 33]

E. Breccia, *Le musée gréco-romain 1925-1931* (1932), pp.21-2, pl.X.36 (photograph; from the original); SEG viii (1937), p.66 no.433; SB v (1955),

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p.190 no.8100.

H. Solin, 'Juden und Syrer in der römischen Welt', *ANRW* II.29.2 (1983), p.678.

This partially painted sarcophagus, of the size for an adult, was found at the Rue Peghini on the site of the necropolis of Mustafa Pasha, to the east of Alexandria, before the site was excavated seriously in the 1930s. The main part of the cemetery has been dated to the early 2nd century B.C. (Adriani, *La nécropole de Moustafa Pascha*, pp.169-73; Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* ii, p.106 n.255). The name of the deceased was painted in red on one of the shorter sides, facing west.

Mariame is clearly a Jewish name, deriving from the name of Moses' sister מרים: Μαριάμ in the LXX but sometimes given in the form Μαριάμη by Josephus (*Ant.* ii 221, 226); cf. Solin, p.678. Six members of Herod's family were called Mariamme. The proposed reading Μαριάμ ἡ χρηστή suggested by *SB* would give an exceptional use of the definite article in front of the very common χρηστή χαίρει formula, and is unnecessary; however, the form Μαριάμ is given for this inscription in Foraboschi's *Onomasticon*. It also occurs in *CPR* xiii 4.171 and 10.8 (3rd century B.C.). A masculine form of the name, Μαριαμός, occurs as the name of a Jew in *CPJ* 195.1 (Edfu, A.D.100). In l.3, the *upsilon* is written above and the *omega* below the letters KIAP. Breccia suggested that a regnal year of Commodus or Caracalla was intended, but he later proposed (p.23) that the burials were from the last century of the Ptolemaic period. If the letters do represent a ruler's name, it is surely more likely to be Καίσαρος. The reading suggested in *SEG*, 25th Hathy, would produce a very unusual conjunction of numerals.

Next to Mariame, two more sarcophagi were found with a painted stele which read: 'Ολυ(μ)πιάς ἔω|ρε χρη(σ)τὴ χα(ϊ)ρει. | Πτολεμαῖ(ε) | ἔωρε χρηστὴ χα(ϊ)|ρει. (Έτους) η' Μεσορῆ ε'. | ἄδε(λ)φοὶ χαίρει|τε πασίφιλοι (Breccia, pl.X.38; A. Adriani, *Annuario* (1932-3), pl.XVII.2; *SEG* viii 434; *SB* v 7837). There is nothing necessarily Jewish about this, since the names were both common ones in Ptolemaic Egypt, but Ptolemy occurs in two other Jewish inscriptions and nine papyri, and the adjective πασίφιλος is found most often in Jewish epitaphs (see no.41). Herod's daughter Olympias married her cousin Joseph and had a daughter named Mariamme.

On the same alignment as Mariame's sarcophagus was another tomb with the inscription (Έτους) ι' Φαῶφι λ' Νικόλαε ΜΟ ΚΥ χαίρει (Breccia, pl.X.37; *SEG* viii 435; *SB* v 8101). *SB* suggested reading the letters after the name as νε(ώτερε) χρ(η)στ(ε); *SEG* read them differently and interpreted them

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as a patronymic, Ν(ικ)ομ(ά)χ(ο)υ. In this case too there is nothing clearly Jewish, but in view of the proximity to two clearly Jewish burials (see also no.12 below) there is at least a possibility that Nikolaos was Jewish. There are two other examples of the name used by Jews in Egyptian inscriptions, and it also occurs in *CIJ* 707, from Macedonia; it is the name of a proselyte in Acts vi 5.

Letter forms (Mariame sarcophagus): A € C Ω.

12 (Plate V): Mustafa Pasha, Alexandria; necropolis: late Ptolemaic or 21 B.C. (?). Sarcophagus; epitaph painted in red. Alexandria Museum.

Text follows E. Breccia, *Le musée gréco-romain*, p.22 (majuscule text).

'Ιώσεφε ἄωρε | χαῖρε· (ἔτους) ι' | 'Αθῶρ [.]η'.

(ἔτους) ι' 'Αθῶρ [.]η' (ll.2-3): *SEG* (ἔτους) ζ' (?) 'Αθῶρ η'

Joseph, untimely dead, farewell. In the 10th year, Hathyr 8/18/28.

E. Breccia, *Le musée gréco-romain 1925-31* (1932), p.22, pl.X.35 (photograph; from the original); *SEG* viii (1937), p.66 no.436; *SB* v (1955), p.190 no.8102.

The tomb of Joseph was on the same alignment as those of Mariame and Nikolaos (see no.11). The sarcophagus was partly painted, and the sides were decorated with a pattern like a brick wall. The inscription was painted on a tessera on one of the shorter sides, facing north.

There is a passing reference to another Jewish epitaph from Alexandria by H.M. Adler, 'The Jews in southern Italy', *JQR* 14 (1902), p.113. Discussing the spelling of the name Susanna, he wrote: 'in Alexandria I found a Jewish tombstone with a Greek inscription in which the name occurs spelt Σούσαννα'. No further details of this stone seem to have been published by Adler, and it is likely that he was referring to the inscription published as no.571 by G. Lefebvre, *Recueil* (1907) and as no.88 by G. Botti, *Bessarione* 5 (1900-1), p.240. This stele, in the Alexandria Museum, came from Aswan. The text consisted of the name and, according to Botti, an *alpha* and *omega* which classified the inscription as Christian; these letters were not mentioned by Lefebvre, although he also assumed that it was a Christian

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inscription. The name in the form Σούσαννα occurs in two other Christian inscriptions in the Alexandria Museum, Lefebvre nos.363 from Lepidontopolis and 577 from Aswan; it is also well attested in papyri from the 5th century A.D. onwards.

Letter forms (Joseph sarcophagus): Α Ε C Ω.

13 (Plate VI; *CIJ* ii no.1432): Gabbary, Alexandria: 37 B.C. (?). Plaque; honorific dedication of proseuche.

Alexandria Museum.

Text follows D.M. Lewis, *CPJ* iii no.1432, p.139 (based on photographs in *CIJ* and Breccia, and Breccia's restorations).

[ὕπερ] βασιλίσ[ση]ς καὶ βασι[λ]έως θεῶι [με]γάλῳ ἐπηκό[ωι]
 (?), "Ἀλυπ[ος τὴν] || προσε[υχὴν] | ἐπέει [?vacat] | (ἔτους) ιε'
 Με[χέρ] ..]

?vacat (1.7): not suggested by *CIJ*; Lewis notes that the preserved part of the inscription is in strict *stoichedon* style, which should mean that every line has the same number of letters, but that this is not the case on this restoration or any other he can devise. For similarly worded inscriptions, see nos. 22, 24, 25, 27, 28, 117.

On behalf of the queen and king, for the great God who listens to prayer, Alypus made the proseuche in the 15th year, Mecheir ..

M.L. Strack, 'Inschriften aus ptolemäischer Zeit', *APF* 2 (1903), p.559 n.41; *OGIS* ii (1905), p.484 no.742; E. Breccia, *Iscrizioni* (1911), p.23 no.41 and tav.xi.29 (photograph); A. Neppi Modona, 'La vita pubblica e privata degli ebrei in Egitto', *Aegyptus* 2 (1921), pp.264-5; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.360 no.1432 (photograph); *CPJ* iii (1964), p.139 no.1432; B. Lifshitz, *Donateurs* (1967), p.76 no.86; Schürer revised ii (1979), pp.425-6, n.5(j).

G. Botti, 'Bulletin épigraphique', *BSAA* 4 (1902), p.86 n.4; U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, 'Alexandrinische Inschriften', *SPAW* 49 (1902), p.1094; K. Buchheim, 'Jüdische Synagoginschriften in Alexandria', *AZJ* 67 (1903), p.487; S. de Ricci, 'Paleography', *JE* ix (1905), p.473; E. Schürer,

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Geschichte iii (1909), p.43; C. Roberts, T.C. Skeat & A.D. Nock, 'The gild of Zeus Hypsistos', *HTR* 29 (1936), p.69 n.80; V. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic civilization and the Jews* (1959), p.303 n.28; A. Adriani, *Repertoria d'arte Serie C i-ii* (1966), p.7242 s.v. Sinagoge; P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* ii (1972), pp.140 n.152, 164 n.136, 441 n.766; B.S.J. Isserlin, 'The names of the 72 translators of the Septuagint', *JANESCU* 5 (1973), p.192; J.N. Sevenster, *The roots of pagan anti-semitism* (1975), p.160 n.80; P.E. Dion, 'Synagogues et temples', *Science et Esprit* 29 (1977), p.55; M. Hengel, *Jews, Greeks and barbarians* (1980), p.95 n.15; A.T. Kraabel, 'Social systems of six Diaspora synagogues', in *Ancient synagogues*, ed. J. Gutmann (1981), p.90 n.15; A. Kashner, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (1985), pp.248 n.50, 257-8 n.92; Schürer revised iii.i (1986), p.49; G.H.R. Horsley, *New documents* iii (1986), p.121; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.699 n.176; M. Hengel, 'The interpenetration of Judaism and Hellenism', *CHJ* ii (1989), p.197 n.6; J. Mélèze-Modrzejewski, *Les juifs d'Égypte* (1991), pp.80, 82, 83; P. Trebilco, *Jewish communities in Asia Minor* (1991), p.260 n.38.

On Gabbary, see Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* i, p.27 and n.186, p.34 and nn.259-60 (literature). ὑπέρ (l.1), 'for' or 'on behalf of', verges on ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας, 'for the well-being of' (no.15, below), but also has overtones of 'in honour of' (revised Schürer iii.i, pp.104-5; G. Dellling, *Bewältigung* p.51, n.341). Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* i, pp.116, 282-3, renders 'on behalf of', and notes that it is a regular loyalty formula in dedications by Greeks to deities both Greek and Egyptian, avoiding the direct ascription of divinity to the sovereign. In Josephus' account (*Ant.* xiii 67), Onias promises to Ptolemy VI Philometor that he will build a temple ὑπὲρ σοῦ καὶ τῆς σῆς γυναῖκος καὶ τῶν τέκνων. The restoration of ἐπηκόος gives an epithet in common use by pagans; Reynolds & Tannenbaum, *Jews and godfearers*, pp.136-7 (no.9) & nn.25-7, on this word in a possibly Jewish inscription from Aphrodisias, found no unequivocally Jewish instance, but noted the use of the epithet (of the ears of God) in II Chron. vi 4, vii 15 (LXX).

Alypus occurs here only in Egyptian evidence as a name used by Jews, but for Ἀλύπης = Alypius see Beth She'arim 196 and *CIJ* 502 (twice; a father and son from Tiberias, in Rome). 'Made', that is, paid for; for ποιεῖν in this sense, see *CIJ* 774 (a heroon in Phrygian Apamea, third century A.D.); Lifshitz, *Donateurs* nos.39-49, 52-55 (synagogue in Syrian Apamea, end of fourth century A.D.; e.g. 55 Εὐπρεπὲς εὐξάμενη ... τὸν τόπον ἐποίησεν); Dothan, *Hammath Tiberias*, p.61 Προφοτοῦρος ... ἐποίησεν τὴν στοὰν ταύτην τοῦ ἁγίου

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τόπου ... (early fourth century A.D.); also the Hammath Tiberias inscription Lifshitz *ibid.* no.76 (seven times), although Dothan, *ibid.* pp.55-6, renders 'fulfilled' (sc. a vow); and 154, below. It seems less likely that Alypus here was the architect (an interpretation envisaged as possible by Méléze-Modrzejewski, *Égypte*, p.83). The tentative date is given by identification of the queen and king with Cleopatra VII and Ptolemy XIV (Caesarion).

Limestone fragment, 33 x 24 cm. Letter forms: Α Ε Σ Ω.

14 (*CIJ* ii no.1434): Kom el-Shukafa, Alexandria; necropolis: Ptolemaic (?). Fragmentary; honorific dedication (?).

Alexandria Museum.

Text follows F. Preisigke, *SB* i no.5072, p.472 (based on Breccia's reading).

[- -] βασιλείσσης | [- -] κα[.....] | [- - -] | [- -] ν
 Ἀπολλω[- -] του || [- -] ο[.] α[.] τος | [- -] ι[.....] | [-
 -] ο[.] κ[.....] | [- -] μ[....] | [- -] ν και || [- -] τα[....] | [-
 -] ου] δαῖτοι.

.... of the queen Jews.

E. Breccia, *Iscrizioni* (1911), p.272 (from the original); *SB* v (1915), p.472 no.5072 (follows Breccia, with restorations); *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.361-2 no.1434; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.140 no.1434.

A. Neppi Modona, 'La vita pubblica e privata degli ebrei in Egitto', *Aegyptus* 2 (1921), p.270.

On Kom el-Shukafa, see P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* i, p.34 and nn.261-3. Breccia associated this fragment with inscriptions concerning the Ptolemaic family; it might be a dedication on their behalf by 'Jews' collectively, as at 22, 24, 25, 27, 177, below.

Red granite fragment, 21 x 14 cm. Letter forms: Α Σ Ω.

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15 (CIJ ii no.1438): Roman Tower, Alexandria: late Roman. Column base; votive; bilingual (Greek and Hebrew).

Alexandria Museum.

Text follows D.M. Lewis, *CPJ* iii no.1438, p.141 (based on *CIJ* photograph).

[ὕπ]ερ σωτηρίας κυρᾶς 'Ρουᾶς θυγατρὸς [τοῦ μα]καριστάτου
'Εντολίου Βοροῦχ Βαραχία. εὐχῶ

(i) For the safety of the lady Roua, daughter of Borouch the most blessed, the law-abiding, son of Barachias. Peace.

or (ii) For the safety of the lady Roua, daughter of the most blessed Entolios, the son of Borouch son of Barachias. Peace.

or (iii) Borouch son of Barachias, for the safety of the lady Roua, daughter of the most blessed Entolios. Peace.

or (iv) For the safety of the lady Roua, daughter of the most blessed Entolios, 'Borouch Barachia'. Peace.

G. Botti, *RQ* 4 (1892), p.130; G. Botti, *Catalogue des monuments* (1900), pp.3-4 no.7; S. de Ricci, 'Lettre à M. le secrétaire perpétuel', *CRAI* (1905), p.158 (from the original); C. Clermont-Ganneau, *RAO* vii (1906), pp.144-5; E. Breccia, *Iscrizioni* (1911), pp.82-3, no.142a; *SB* i (1915), p.208 no.2654; M. Schwabe, 'On the interpretation of a Jewish inscription from Alexandria', *BEHJ* 1 (1946), pp.101-3; J. & L. Robert, *BE* (1948), p.208 no.258; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.364-5 no.1438 (photograph); *CPJ* iii (1964), p.141 no.1438; B. Lifshitz, *Donateurs* (1967), pp.77-8 no.91; B.J. Broton, *Women leaders in the ancient synagogue* (1982), p.165 no.3.

S. de Ricci, 'Paleography', *JE* ix (1905), p.473; L. Robert, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes* (1964), p.49 n.2; B.S.J. Isserlin, 'The names of the 72 translators of the Septuagint', *JANESCU* 5 (1973), p.192, p.194 n.20; G.H.R. Horsley, *New documents* i (1981), p.117.

This dedication attests synagogue building or rebuilding in later Roman Alexandria, as do 16, 17 and perhaps 19 (another column-dedication) and 127-8, below. ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας is common in dedications of (parts of) buildings, e.g. Lifshitz, *Donateurs* no.55 (see 13, above) or 67 (Theodorus gives a column at Caesarea ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας (sic) Ματρῶνας θυγατρὸς).

Out of the four possible translations given above, (i) is unlikely because

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Entolios is probably a proper name, as in a comparable column-dedication from Lapethos in Cyprus and a tomb inscription from Caesarea, both probably Jewish (Lifshitz, *Donateurs*, no.84 (Lapethos), with discussion; Schwabe, 'Budget', pp.159-60 & pl.V.4); and (iv) seems unlikely because 'Borouch Barachia' is understood as a Hebrew benediction in Greek letters (? = 'Blessed be Barachiah'), but presupposes an abrupt transition in the wording, and might be expected to be in Hebrew characters, like the concluding *shalom* = Peace. Further, (i) and (ii) lack the article which would be usual before Borouch (ii) or Barachias (i). Lifshitz prefers a translation mainly corresponding to (ii), but concluding 'fils de Borouch Barachia'. *CIJ* translates mainly in accord with (iii), probably the best choice, since the two-line inscription then includes the name of the dedicant. For the spelling Borouch, cf. Jer. l(xliii) 6 (S*); with Barachia, compare Barchias (no.43).

Schwabe suggested that the woman's name Roua was a form of Ruth, and might be restored as 'Ρούδας μακαριώτατος (the spelling with *omicron* is found only in the title of a letter attributed to Athanasius, *PG* xxviii 849) was used as a term of great respect by both Christian and non-Christian writers. Christians applied it particularly to bishops (e.g. Basil, *Ep.* 70.1; Eusebius, *H.E.* v 19.2) and to the apostles (e.g. Athanasius, *PG* xxvii 1352, Greg.Naz., *Ep.* 249.5). More generally, it referred to anyone or anything considered 'very happy' or 'most blessed'. It did not imply in literary Greek, as it may do here, that the person so described was dead. D. Hagedorn, 'Zur Verwendung von *νίος* und *θυγάτηρ* vor dem Vatersnamen in Urkunden römischer Zeit', *ZPE* 80 (1990), pp.277-82 argues that the use of the word for 'son' or 'daughter' before the father's name in a patronymic usually indicated that the father was a man of some social standing, often the holder of a magistracy; thus μακαριώτατος may also be an indication of status here.

Height 90 cm. Letter forms: Α Ε Γ Υ Ω.

16 (*CIJ* ii no.1436): Alexandria: late Roman. Stele; votive.
Alexandria Museum.

Text, but not expansion in l.1, follows D.M. Lewis, *CPJ* iii no.1436, p.140 (based on *CIJ* photograph).

θ(εδς) β(σηθδς) εὐχὴν [- -] | ΛΟΣΟΥΧΙΝΑ [- -] | τῷ ἀγίῳ [- -]
| | [*vacat*]

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θ(εδς) β(ονηθς) (l.1): *CIJ*, *CPJ* θ(εω) β(ονηθουντι); Lifshitz θ(εδς) β(ονηθ) ΛΟΞΟΥΧΙΝΑ (l.2): *CIJ* | λος ούχ' ἴνα (?)

τῷ ἀγίῳ (l.3): Lifshitz [τῷ θεῷ καὶ] | τῷ ἀγίῳ [τόπω...]

God is the helper. As a vow to the holy ...

G. Botti, 'Inscriptions grecques et latines trouvées en Égypte en 1897-98', *BSAA* 1 (1898), p.43 no.14; G. Lefebvre, *Recueil* (1907), p.9 no.41 (from the original); S. de Ricci, 'Notes d'épigraphie égyptienne', *BSAA* 11 (1909), p.326; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.363 no.1436 (photograph); *CPJ* iii (1964), p.140 no.1436; B. Lifshitz, *Donateurs* (1967), p.77 no.89.

G. Botti, 'Le iscrizioni cristiane di Alessandria d'Egitto', *Bessarione* 7 (1900), p.271 n.3; H. Leclercq, 'Alexandrie (archéologie)', *DACL* i (1932), col.1120; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.699 n.175.

This fragment was found in 1898 in Alexandria (Government Hospital); the full inscription probably recorded a donation to a synagogue building (see 15, above). Botti, presumably from the lettering, assigned it to the Byzantine period, a date confirmed by similarities with *CIJ* 964 (A.D.604). The formula θβ also begins *CIJ* 964, a comparable dedication from Ascalon, and Lifshitz, *Donateurs* no.84 (see 15, above), and it ends the Greek in 17, below; θεδς βονηθς in full begins face a of the third-century A.D. Aphrodisias inscription (Reynolds & Tannenbaum, *Aphrodisias*, p.5), and three Christian inscriptions in a late fourth- or early fifth-century mosaic in Cyrene (J.M. Reynolds, 'The Christian inscriptions of Cyrenaica', *JTS* n.s.11 (1960), p.286). Similar abbreviations with Κύριος or Κύριε begin Lifshitz, *ibid.*, nos.64 (Caesarea), 77 (Scythopolis); and εἰς θεός is followed by (δ) βο(η)θῶν or (δ) β(ο)ηθς at the beginning of *CIJ* 848, 864 (both Syrian), respectively. This material suggests expansion of both abbreviations in the nominative rather than the dative, and of the second with a noun rather than a participle, although the latter is certainly possible (*CIJ* 848); further, de Ricci notes that θεδς βονηθς has the numerical value 653, like the Christian formula χμγ, and he prefers this expansion here for that reason. The formula perhaps echoes Ps. xvii (xviii) 3 ὁ θεός μου βονηθς μου and, more generally, such verses as Gen. xlix 25, I Kingdoms vii 12, Ps. liii (liv) 6, lxx (lxx) 6; on other associations of βονηθς see 30, l.4, below (note).

'As a vow' presupposes wording with main verb understood, like Ὑψίστω

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εὐχὴν Μαρκία (*CIJ* 730, Delos; cf. 727-8); the wording could also have continued with a main verb meaning 'I fulfilled', as in Lifshitz, *Donateurs*, no. 17 εὐχὴν ἐτέλεσα (Sardis); lastly, ν might begin a name, leaving εὐχὴ in the nominative, in a phrase such as 'Vow of N[onnus]'; compare 19, below.

The last six letters of ΑΟΣΟΥΧΙΝΑ can be resolved as οὐχ ἵνα, 'not in order that', which seems unlikely to be right (*CIJ* adds a query); note that the letters ΣΙΝΑ occur after a break immediately before εὐχαριστ(ῶ)ν in *CIJ* 966, l. 2, another comparable dedication (region of Gaza) (Lifshitz, *Donateurs* no. 72, restores [Μα]ρίνα). The restoration '[to God and] to the holy [place]' (l. 3) (see L. Robert as cited in 17, below) is supported by *CIJ* 964, l. 3; for the synagogue as the 'holy place', see passages quoted on 13, above, and Dothan, *Hammath Tiberias*, p. 54, on the corresponding Aramaic אֶתְרָה קִדְשָׁא.

Marble stele incomplete on right-hand side, 36 x 16 cm. Letter forms: Α Ε Ν Γ Ω.

17 (*CIJ* ii no. 1437): Alexandria: Roman. Part of a lintel; votive; bilingual (Greek and Hebrew).

Alexandria Museum.

Text, but not restoration or expansion, follows D.M. Lewis, *CPJ* iii no. 1437, p. 140; restoration proposed by L. Robert, *RPh* 32 (1958), p. 43, n. 4.

[- -]ριου υἱοῦ | [- -] καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ τό[πῳ Ἰ]σραήλ. θε(ὸς)
β(οηθός). שְׁלוֹם

ῥίου (l. 1): *CIJ* [...]ίου
τό[πῳ Ἰ]σραήλ (ll. 2-3): *CIJ* το[...Ἰ]σραήλ, *CPJ* το[τῷ Ἰ]σραήλ, Lifshitz
τό[πῳ καὶ ἄλλοις τόποις τοῦ Ἰ]σραήλ
θε(ὸς) β(οηθός) (l. 3): *CIJ*, *CPJ* θε(ὸς) β(οηθοῦντα); Lifshitz θε(ὸς) β(οηθεῖ)
שְׁלוֹם (l. 3): *CIJ* שְׁלוֹם

.... of ...rios son of (?) ... and to the holy place ... Israel. God
is the helper. Peace.

S. de Ricci, 'Notes d'épigraphie égyptienne', *BSAA* 11 (1909), pp. 326-7, fig. 75 (facsimile); *SB* i (1915), p. 52 no. 617; *CIJ* ii (1952), p. 364 no. 1437 (photograph); *CPJ* iii (1964), p. 140 no. 1437; B. Lifshitz, *Donateurs* (1967),

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p.77 no.90.

L. Robert, 'Inscriptions grecques de Sidè en Pamphylie', *RPh* 32 (1958), p.43 n.4; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.699 n.175.

Ll.3-4 as restored by L. Robert show that this is a dedication of (part of) an Alexandrian synagogue, like 15 and 16, above. The name of which the last four letters survive might be Paregorios (143, below). In *CPJ* the *CIJ* text was corrected from the photograph, but L. Robert's proposal τόπω (compare no.16) was not noted. The *CPJ* restoration envisages short lines, on one side of the lintel only, but the restoration in Lifshitz, *Donateurs* (adding to Robert's proposal a Greek version of a formula found in Hebrew in *CIJ* 973) requires a long line, with correspondingly large lacunae in ll.1-2; the inscription on this view would have run right across the lintel, as seems not unlikely.

Letter forms: Δ Θ Ε Λ Ω.

18 (Plate VII): Alexandria: A.D.3. Plaque; honorific decree (?).
Alexandria Museum.

Text follows copy by G. Botti reproduced in *IGRR* i no.1077 (pp.371-2), but not all of the restorations suggested there; l.4 follows P.M. Fraser's restoration.

[- - 'Α]θὺρ ιη' ἐπὶ τῆς πι[- -] |
 [- -]ς τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τ[- -] |
 [- -]ων ἀρχισυναγωγ[- -] |
 [- - ἀρ]χιπροστάτης διο[- -] |
 [- - ἐπειδὴ Β]ρασίδας Ἡρακλε[ίδου - -] ||
 [- -] γλ' (ἔτους) Καίσαρος [- -] |
 [- -] ἐν ἅπασι ἀναστ[- -] |
 [- -]ς καὶ ὑγιᾶς ἐπ[- -] |
 [- -] τὴν δαπάνην π[- -] |
 [- -]ομηνιακὰς ἡμέρας [- -] ||

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[- -]πισκευᾶς ἀκολ[- -] |
 [- -]ου λόγῳ ἐπὶ το[- -] |
 [- -]οδεξάμενον ι[- -] |
 [- -] στεφάνῳ ἐπ[- -] |
 [- -]λοις δυοῖ [- -]

τ[- -] (l.2): de Ricci π[όλεως]
 ἀρχισυναγῶ[- -] (l.3): de Ricci and Arvanitakis ἀρχισυναγῶ[γων];
 Breccia ἀρχισυνάγω[γος]
 [ἀρ]χιπροστάτης διο[- -] (l.4): de Ricci ἡ πρὸς τὰ τῆς διο[κλήσεως];
 Breccia ἡρι προστάτης διο[κλήσεως εἶπεν]; *IGRR* ἡρι προστάτης διο[.....
 εἶπεν]
 [B]ρασίδης Ἡρακλε[ίδου] (l.5): Arvanitakis [Π]ρασίδης Ἡρακλε[ίδης]
 Καίσαρος [- -] (l.6): Arvanitakis Καίσαρος ο[
 ἀναστ[- -] (l.7): Arvanitakis ἀναστ[ᾶς], Breccia ἀναστ[ρεφόμενος]
 (ll.7-8)
 [- -]ς καὶ (l.8): de Ricci [τ]ε καὶ; Arvanitakis [καλ]ῶς καὶ
 [- -] τὴν δαπάνην π[- -] (l.9): de Ricci]ς τὴν δαπάνην ι[
 [- -]ομνησιακᾶς (l.10): de Ricci [νε]ομνησιακᾶς; Arvanitakis
 [θε]ομνησιακᾶς; Breccia [τερ]ομνησιακᾶς
 ἀκολ[- -] (l.11): de Ricci, Arvanitakis, *IGRR*, Breccia ἀκολ[οῦθως?]
 [- -]ου λόγῳ (l.12): Arvanitakis [σ]υλλόγῳ; Breccia ου λόγου (but
omega is clear in his photograph)
 [- -]οδεξάμενον (l.13): Arvanitakis [ἀπ]οδεξάμενο[ν]; Breccia
 [?]οδεξάμενον; de Ricci, *IGRR* [?]οδεξάμενον
 ἐπ[- -] (l.14): Arvanitakis εν[
 [- -]λοις δυοῖ (l.15): Arvanitakis]ολοις διοισ[; de Ricci, *IGRR*,
 Breccia [καὶ ἄλλ]οις δυοῖ
 Meyer suggested the following for ll.1-5: ἐπὶ τῆς γ[ενηθείσης]ς τῶν ἀπὸ
 τῆς πό[λεως] συναγωγῆς, ὧν ἀρχισυνάγωγος καὶ ἀρ[χι]προστάτης
 Διομ[ήδης]...
 Crönert suggested the following for ll.7-12: ἐν ἅπασι ἀναστ[ραφεῖς] εὖ
 τ[ε] καὶ ὑγῶς ἐπ[ιδεξάμενος] τὴν δαπάνην τ[ὴν] εἰς τὰς νε[ο]μνησιακᾶς ἡμέ[ρας]
 καὶ πάσας τὰς ἐπισκευὰς ἀκολ[οῦθως] τῷ τοῦ ...ου λόγῳ...

.... Hathy 18, in the of those from the
archisynagogos (or -oi) chief officer Since Brasidas

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son of Herakleides 33rd year of Caesar in all and
 soundly, the expense days repair by word in
 crown with two

S. de Ricci, 'Bulletin épigraphique de l'Égypte romaine', *APF* 2 (1903), p.430 no.5 (from notes by J.G. Milne); M. Arvanitakis, 'Quelques inscriptions grecques inédites', *BIE* 4 (1903), pp.41-3 no.6 (from the stone); *IGRR* i (1908), pp.371-2 no.1077 (from a copy by G. Botti); E. Breccia, *Iscrizioni* (1911), p.31 no.47, tav.xiii.36 (photograph; from the stone); *SB* i (1915), p.657 no.5959; ii p.464 (follows Arvanitakis); *SB* v (1955), p.327 no.8787, p.549 (follows *IGRR*).

G. Botti, *Catalogue des monuments* (1900), p.272 no.76; F. Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* (1909), pp.356, 575 no.B455C; W. Crönert, 'Zu griechischen Inschriften aus Ägypten', *JÖAI* 12 (1909), Beiblatt col.207; P.M. Meyer, Review of Breccia, *BPW* 33 (1913), col.741; A. Neppi Modona, 'La vita pubblica e privata degli ebrei in Egitto', *Aegyptus* 2 (1921), p.264; S. Krauss, *Synagogale Altertümer* (1922), p.163; H.I. Bell, *Juden und Griechen im römischen Alexandria* (1926), p.50; S. Krauss, 'Synagoge', *RE* iv (1932), col.1306 no.125; P.M. Fraser, 'Ἀρχιπροστάτης, ἀρχιπροσταίτω', *CE* 26 (1951), pp.162-3; P.M. Fraser, 'Ἀρχιπροστάτης, a correction', *CE* 27 (1952), p.290; J. & L. Robert, *BE* (1953), p.193 no.234; M. San Nicolò, *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen* i (1972), p.211 n.8; ii p.46 n.5, p.62, p.172 n.1; E. Bernand, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum* i (1975), p.52; E. Bernand, *Répertoire bibliographique des IGRR* (1983) p.23, no.1077.

The stone appears to be complete at the top, but an unknown amount of text is lost on each side and at the bottom. Because of the irregular shape of the surviving fragment, the amount lost decreases slightly on the left and increases on the right from top to bottom. It appears that Brasidas son of Herakleides is being honoured for his generosity to an unspecified association with, among other things, a crown or garland; the officers of the association (its title would have been in l.2) are mentioned in ll.3-4, perhaps as a dating formula. Although Arvanitakis and de Ricci thought the inscription was Jewish, all other commentators have dismissed the idea. There is no proof that the association was a Jewish one, but neither is there any strong evidence against it; the parallels for the terminology, cited below, suggest that Jewishness is at least a serious possibility. The text was published four times in eight years from different readings, and there have been many variations in the restorations suggested.

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The clear reference to an *archisynagogos* (or perhaps more than one) in l.3 provides the main reason for supposing that this inscription might be Jewish. The only other supposed occurrence of the word in Egypt is in a dedication most recently published by E. Bernand, *Inscriptions grecques du Fayoum* i no.9 from Arsinoe-Crocodilopolis, where it is applied to a cavalry officer. In fact, the word there is a restoration, and the surviving text is only -γωγος. There are at least 24 words with this ending (P. Kretschmer, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache* (Göttingen, 1944), p.382). Thus there is no clear evidence for the use of the word in Egypt in either a Jewish or non-Jewish context. Both Jewish (no.20, below, if it is really Jewish) and non-Jewish (e.g. *SB* v 8267, an association of farmers) groups in Egypt called themselves *synagogai*, even if *proseuche* was the normal term for the building in which Egyptian Jews met. Epigraphic references to non-Jewish *archisynagogoi* are in fact very few. Horsley, *New documents* iv (1987), pp.214-6, collects forty 'certain/very probable examples' of the occurrence of the word, of which only six (nos.14-18 and 21) are clearly pagan: there are some dubious cases including no.19 and this inscription, but the overwhelming majority are undoubtedly Jewish. When Alexander Severus was pejoratively called *Syrus archisynagogus* by Alexandrians among others (S.H.A. *Alex.Sev.* 28), it is likely although not certain that he was being derided for supposed Jewish tendencies.

Archiprostates (l.4) occurs only here (if it is the correct reading); a verb ἀρχιπροστατέω is found in *SB* i 626. *Prostates* was used as a title by Jews in Egypt; cf. no.24, below, and *CPJ* i p.101, referring to a Byzantine papyrus with the word written in Hebrew characters; it is also the probable resolution of an abbreviation in no.20, below. However, it was a common term for the officer of any association, e.g. *SB* i 984 (bakers and pastry-cooks), 4623 (corn-dealers), 4980 (citizens of Naucratis), v 8267 (farmers).

Of the restored names (l.5), Brasidas does not seem to be used by Jews elsewhere, but Herakleides was the name of one of the contributors towards the renovation of the Berenice synagogue in A.D.55/6, and also of his father (*CJZC* 72). There are also references to three Egyptian Jews called Herakleides: *CPJ* 144.5 (Alexandria, 13 B.C.), 209.2 (Edfu, A.D.107), 455.3 (Theadelphia, A.D.137). Brasidas was not necessarily a member of the group (whether Jewish or not) himself; he is honoured as its benefactor. The restoration of ἐπιδή at the beginning of the line is justified by the standard wording of honorific decrees, where it preceded the name of the person to be honoured, e.g. *SB* iii 7246, v 8854; ἐπεί was sometimes used instead, e.g. *SB* v 8929, *CJZC* 71.

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The word ending with *sigma* at the beginning of l.8 may be πιστῶς, since the phrase ὑγιῶς καὶ πιστῶς was often applied to the performance of a duty or service (Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s.vv.), and may have been used in reverse here.

δαπάνη (l.9) is a standard word for a benefactor's financial contribution; e.g. *SB* i 4227 (ἰδίαις δαπάναις), iii 7127 (πολλῆς αὐτῷ δαπάνης γεγενημένης), v 8267 (εἰς τὴν τῶν προκειμένων δαπάνην), cf. *CJZC* 70.24-5 (τοῖς ἰδίοις δαπανήμασιν). It is completely unclear what Brasidas paid for; Arvanitakis' suggestion that he repaired a building after an earthquake rests on a very questionable restoration of l.10.

All the proposed restorations of [- -]ομηνιακάς (l.10) would produce otherwise unknown words. At Berenice (*CJZC* 70, 71), people honoured by the Jewish community were crowned at each meeting and new moon (καθ' ἑκάστην σύνοδον καὶ νομηνίαν), and [νε]ομηνιακάς here would imply something similar; see also T.C.G. Thornton, 'Jewish new moon festivals', *JTS* n.s.40 (1989), pp.97-100. This restoration, suggested by de Ricci, was accepted by San Nicolò (ii, p.172 n.1), Crönert and (with a question-mark) Preisigke in his *Wörterbuch*.

στεφάνῳ (l.14) suggests that Brasidas (or his statue) is to be crowned. This was a standard way of honouring a benefactor; there are many non-Jewish Egyptian examples, and the Berenice inscriptions (*CJZC* 70, 71) promise that the benefactors of the Jewish community there will be honoured with crowns of olive (στεφάνῳ ἐλαίνῳ). No.129, below, appears to refer to a gold crown, χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, but the context is unclear. Other types of crown mentioned include palm (*SB* iii 7246, στεφανοῦν θαλλῷ στεφάνῳ), ivy (*SB* v 8853-5 κισσοῦ στεφάνῳ) and 'various' (*SB* v 8267 and 8929, ἐξάλλῳ στεφάνῳ). Crönert thought Brasidas' crown might be gold, στεφάνῳ ἐπ[ι]χρύσῳ].

Fragmentary marble plaque, 27 x 15 cm. Letter forms: A E Σ Λ.

19 (CIJ ii no.1446): Alexandria (?) (exact provenance unknown): Roman. Fragment of marble column; votive. Alexandria Museum.

Text follows S. de Ricci, *CRAI* (1905), p.157 (majuscule text), with corrections by F. Preisigke (*SB* i, no.1156), as transcribed by D.M. Lewis, *CPJ* iii no.1446, p.143.

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εὐχῇ | 'Ιουλιανοῦ | Εἰσακ | 'Αββίβου | εὐλογητοῦ.

'Ιουλιανοῦ (l.2), εὐλογητοῦ (l.5): *sigma* in majuscules corrected to *omicron*

Vow of Julianus Isaac, son of the lamented Abbiba.

S. de Ricci, *CRAI* (1905), p.157 (from the original); C. Clermont-Ganneau, *RAO* vii (1906), p.144; M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* iii (1915), p.49; *SB* i (1915), p.1142 no.1156; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.372 no.1446; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.143 no.1446; B. Lifshitz, *Donateurs* (1967), p.80 no.97.

A. Neppi Modona, 'La vita pubblica e privata degli ebrei in Egitto', *Aegyptus* 3 (1922), p.41 n.2; B.S.J. Isserlin, 'The names of the 72 translators of the Septuagint', *JANESCU* 5 (1973), p.192; S.M. Ruozzi Sala, *Lexicon nominum semiticorum* (1974), p.1; G. Delling, 'Biblisch-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten', *BSAC* 22 (1974-5), pp.15, 28; A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (1985), p.85.

For other donations of parts of synagogue buildings, see 15, above (another column-dedication). Here the first four lines are set within a tabula ansata, compared by Clermont-Ganneau with that enclosing the Gaza column inscription later *CIJ* 967 (drawing). The names can be divided as in the translation above (following *CIJ* and *CPJ*), for the gentile name Julianus might well have been complemented by a Hebrew name, as in 6, above; but Julianus occurs on its own in 21, below, and 'Julianus son of Isaac Abiba' is also a possible rendering; compare *CIJ* 968 'Ισακός 'Ιου[λιανού?] (Gaza). Abiba appears to correspond to Aramaic Habiba ['Beloved'], a name borne by several rabbinic teachers (b Yoma 10a and other passages cited by Jastrow, s.v. (III)). On double names, see 6, above; on Aramaic in Graeco-Roman Egypt, 13, above. On the name Isaac, see no.107, below.

The Roman dating is given by the name Julianus (see no.21). For the form 'Vow of X', see *CIJ* 736 = Lifshitz, *Donateurs* no.83, εὐχῇ ραββὴ 'Αττικοῦ (ascribed to the third century A.D.), also on a column, and compare 16, above. R. Tannenbaum, discussing the restoration of the word παντευλογ... in the Aphrodisias 'Godfearers' inscription (Reynolds & Tannenbaum, *Jews and godfearers*, pp.34-6), notes that εὐλογητός refers to God rather than man, usually in the LXX and always in the N.T. He refers to two other Jewish inscriptions where it applies to God, and one where the restoration is disputed, but does not mention this one. Here it could only with

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awkwardness serve as the equivalent of εὐλογία αὐτῷ at the end of a record of donation (Lifshitz, *Donateurs* no.76; Dothan, *Hammath Tiberias*, pp.59-61). It seems rather to be used in the sense of the more usual μακάριος, of the departed as 'blessed' (Beth She'arim 176; usage discussed by Schwabe & Lifshitz on Beth She'arim 183, 1.5); Lewis's rendering 'lamented' is accordingly repeated above, in the sense of a polite reference to the departed.

Letter forms: Α C Ε Υ Ω).

20 (Plate VIII; CIJ ii no.1447): Alexandria (?): late Ptolemaic or Roman (?). Statue base; dedication.

Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg.

Text follows S. de Ricci, *RevEp* n.s. 1 (1913), p.154, as transcribed by B. Lifshitz, *Donateurs*, no.98.

Ἀρτέμων | Νίκωνος προ(σπάτης) | τὸ ια' (ἔτος) τῇ | συναγωγῇ |
[..]ντηκη.

προ(σπάτης) (1.2): *CIJ*, *CPJ* προ(σπατήσας); A. Bernand προ(εσβυτέρου)

Artemon son of Nikon, *prostates* for the 11th year, to the synagogue

S. de Ricci, 'Inscriptions grecques d'Égypte conservées à Saint-Petersbourg', *RevEp* n.s. 1 (1913), p.154 (facsimile; from the stone); *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.372-3 no.1447; *CPJ* iii (1964), pp.143-4; B. Lifshitz, *Donateurs* (1967), p.80 no.98; A. Bernand, *Le delta égyptien* iii (1970), pp.930-1.

J. Juster, *Les juifs dans l'empire romain* i (1914), p.497; S. Krauss, 'Synagoge', *RE* iv (1932), col.1286; B.S.J. Isserlin, 'The names of the 72 translators of the Septuagint', *JANESCU* 5 (1973), p.192; A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (1985), p.111 n.11, p.112, p.114; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.697 n.163; G.H.R. Horsley, *New documents* iv (1987), p.225; J. Méléze-Modrzejewski, *Les juifs d'Égypte* (1991), p.83.

This dedication by the patron or president of an association employs proper names and terms of communal organization which were used by Jews (as well as others); but it appears to have been cut in conjunction with the

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erection of a statue, which would have been decidedly unusual as a Jewish dedication. The tentative dating follows the period when the names are known to have been in use. For Artemon, compare *CPJ* no.481c (son of Sambathion, but not otherwise identified as Jewish; Philadelphia in the Fayum, early first century A.D.) and Artemion, leader of the Jewish uprising in Cyprus under Trajan (Cassius Dio lxxviii 32.2) (perhaps also Artemas, Titus iii 12). Nikon is attested as a Jewish name at Leontopolis (4 B.C.) and Apollinopolis Magna (Edfu) (1st century B.C. and A.D.66-81) (*CPJ* iii, pp.185-6; no.75, below). *Prostates* was a Jewish as well as non-Jewish title (see on 24, below, and 18, above, and Kasher, *Egypt*, pp.111-4); the expansion of the abbreviation as a participle 'having presided over' (*CIJ*, *CPJ*) gives wording closer to that of 24, below. 'Elder' (A. Bernand's expansion of the abbreviation) gives *Nikon* a title known to Egyptian Jews from Palestinian usage (LXX, Letter of Aristeas 310, III Macc. i 8) but rarely attested among them (III Macc. vi 1; not in *CPJ*).

συναγωγῆ occurs here only in Egyptian Jewish inscriptions, but was in Jewish use in Cyrenaica (*CJZC* 72, Berenice). Both non-Jews and Jews used συναγωγῆ in the sense of 'association', probably the meaning here as in *CJZC* 72; regular application of the word to a Jewish meeting place began only in the Roman period in the Diaspora, and Philo explains it with care on the one occasion when he so uses it (*Quod Omnis Probus* 81, on the Essenes, discussed with other evidence in Schürer revised, ii, pp.439-40 & n.60). The last word will have been an adjective describing the place or character of the association.

The wording more naturally suggests that Artemon made a donation to the association than that he 'was *prostates* to the association'; for the latter, the genitive τῆς συναγωγῆς would have been expected (Lewis in *CPJ*). The statue which this base seems to imply would be surprising in a Jewish context; Philo's argument (*Leg.*, especially 133-8) that Jews were never compelled to set up statues to kings in their meeting-places would have been jeopardized if Jewish associations regularly accepted statues of any kind, and inscriptions confirm the honours which he says that Jews did grant (shields, gilded crowns, stelae and inscriptions, *ibid.* 133; see 18 above (crown), *CIJ* 766 (shield; Acmonia, first century A.D.)). It is therefore hard to envisage the 'synagogue' here as Jewish (with Lifshitz no.98 and Mélèze-Modrzejewski, *Égypte*, p.83).

Probably, then, the association was not Jewish, but the overlap of the names with names in Jewish use suggests the possibility that Artemon was a Judaizer, perhaps of partly Jewish descent, and the donation of a statue

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might then be compared with that probably made to the Sambathic associaton at Naucratis (26, below).

Black granite statue base, 7.3 x 8.4 x 7.9 cm. It was one of three inscriptions brought to Russia in 1898 by V.G. Bock, and is the only one still in the Hermitage Museum, inv.no.7362 A 770. In the last line, de Ricci thought that the letters THK were written over KOA. Letter forms: Α Ε ° Σ Ω.

21 (*CIJ* ii no.1439): Alexandria: Roman. Amphora with owner's name.

British Museum.

Text follows D.M. Lewis, *CPJ* iii no.1439, p.141.

Ἰουλιανοῦ.

Of Julianus.

The name is surrounded by a menorah

C. Smith, 'Amphora stopping from Alexandria', *JHS* 4 (1883), p.159; S. de Ricci, 'Lettre à M. le secrétaire perpétuel', *CRAI* (1905), p.158; *SB* i (1915), p.103 no.1157; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.365-6 no.1439; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.141 no.1439.

S. de Ricci, 'Paleography', *JE* ix (1905), p.473; A. Dain, *Inscriptions grecques du musée du Louvre* (1933), pp.130-1; A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (1985), p.85.

The Roman dating is given by the name Julianus, also found in no.19 (see Kasher, pp.85-8). An Alexandrian instance of the name is *SEG* viii 430, Ἡσιδωρου Πινάρα καὶ Ἰουλιανοῦ Φρόντων; Dain, *Inscriptions grecques* pp.130-1, argues that it is Christian because it contains an amphora between two palms, but the amphora is also used as a Jewish symbol (Goodenough, *Jewish symbols* i, p.96; iii, figs.36 & 43). In the Hebrew form, Lulianus, Luliani, the name was current among Palestinian Jews, for example the early fourth-century rabbi Luliani ben Tabrin (its use is criticized, *Midrash Cant.R.* iv 12, parallel with *Lev.R.* xxxii 4); a Lulianus, mentioned with Pappus as one of two Jews of great influence, is described as Alexandrian (*Sifra*, B^ehuqgotay, pereq v 2, on *Lev.* xxvi 19; the passage is discussed by writers including Smallwood, *Roman rule*, pp.425f., and see no.126, below).

Letter forms: Α.

22 (Plate IX; CIJ ii no.1440): Schedia (Nashwa (en Nashw), near Kafr ed-Dauwar): 246–221 B.C.. Plaque; honorific dedication of proseuche.

Alexandria Museum.

Text follows A. Bernand, *Le delta égyptien* i no.3, p.414.

ὕπερ βασιλέως | Πτολεμαίου καὶ | βασιλίσσης | Βερενίκης
ἀδελ|φῆς καὶ γυναικὸς καὶ || τῶν τέκνων | τὴν προσευχὴν | οἱ
Ἰουδαῖοι.

ὕπερ (l.1): *CIJ* [ὕ]περ

Ἰουδαῖοι (l.8): *CIJ* Ἰουδαῖοι

On behalf of king Ptolemy and queen Berenice his sister and wife and their children, the Jews (dedicated) the proseuche.

G. Botti, 'Les inscriptions de Schédia', *BSKG* 10 (1901), p.614 (from the stone); G. Botti, 'Studio sul III Nomo dell'Egitto inferiore', *BSAA* 4 (1902), p.49, cf. pp.46-7; T. Reinach, 'Sur la date de la colonie juive d'Alexandrie', *REJ* 45 (1902), pp.161-4 (from the stone and a squeeze); P.M. Meyer, 'Neue Inschriften und Papyrus', *Klio* 2 (1902), pp.478-9 no.7; U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, 'Alexandrinische Inschriften', *SPAW* 49 (1902), p.1094; M.L. Strack, 'Inschriften aus ptolemäischer Zeit', *APF* 2 (1903), p.541 no.15; E. Schürer, 'Eine neue jüdisch-griechische Inschrift', *TL* 28 (1903), p.156 (announcement of find); *OGIS* ii (1905), p.467 no.726; A. Bludau, *Juden und Judenverfolgungen* (1906), p.8; J. Oehler, 'Epigraphische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Judentums', *MGWJ* 53 (1909), p.451 n.227; E. Breccia, *Iscrizioni* (1911), p.6 no.11, pl.III no.9 (photograph; from the stone); A. Neppi Modona, 'La vita pubblica e privata degli ebrei in Egitto', *Aegyptus* 2 (1921), pp.261, 267; S. Krauss, *Synagogale Altertümer* (1922), p.263; L. Fuchs, *Die Juden Aegyptens* (1924), p.8; S. Krauss, 'Synagoge', *RE* iv (1932), col.1306 no.125; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.366-7 no.1440 (photograph); *SB* v (1955), p.551 no.8992; E. Gabba, *Iscrizioni greche e latine* (1958), p.17 no.1; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.141 no.1440; B. Lifshitz, *Donateurs* (1967), p.78 no.92; A. Bernand, *Le delta égyptien* i (1970), pp.414-5 no.3, pl.11 no.5 (photograph; from the stone); A.

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Kasher, 'Three Jewish communities of Lower Egypt', *SCIsr* 2 (1975), p.114; Schürer revised ii (1982), p.425 n.5; iii.i (1986), pp.46, 87; G.H.R. Horsley, *New documents* iii (1986), pp.121-2 no.94.

U. Wilcken, 'Bibliographische Notizen', *APF* 2 (1903), p.467; S. de Ricci, 'Paleography', *JE* ix (1905), p.473; E. Schürer, *Geschichte* ii (1909), pp.499f.; iii, p.41; E. Breccia, *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum* (1922), p.149; H.I. Bell, *Juden und Griechen im römischen Alexandria* (1926), p.50; V.A. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic civilization and the Jews* (1959), p.297 n.3, p.303 n.28, p.349 n.23; P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* ii (1972), pp.141 n.164, 441 n.776; S. Applebaum, 'The legal status of the Jewish communities in the Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.424 n.4; E. Bernand, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum* i (1975), p.17 and n.57; J.N. Sevenster, *The roots of pagan anti-semitism* (1975), p.160 n.80; P.E. Dion, 'Synagogues et temples', *Science et Esprit* 29 (1977), p.55; H. Shanks, *Judaism in stone* (1979), p.21; M. Hengel, *Jews, Greeks and barbarians* (1980), p.95 n.14; A.T. Kraabel, 'Social systems of six Diaspora synagogues', in *Ancient synagogues*, ed. J. Gutmann (1981), p.90 n.15; J. Méléze-Modrzejewski, 'Splendeurs grecques et misères romaines', in *Les juifs du Nil*, ed. J. Hassoun (1981), p.27; E. Bernand, *Répertoire bibliographique des OGIS* (1982), pp.57-8 no.726; A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (1985), pp.107 n.3, 110, 189, 258 n.92; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.700 n.181; J.G. Griffiths, 'Egypt and the rise of the synagogue', *JTS* n.s.38 (1987), pp.2-3; H. Hegermann, 'The Diaspora in the Hellenistic age', *CHJ* ii (1989), p.137 n.6, p.151 n.3; M. Hengel, 'The interpenetration of Judaism and Hellenism', *CHJ* ii (1989), p.197 n.5; J. Méléze-Modrzejewski, *Les juifs d'Égypte* (1991), p.76; P. Trebilco, *Jewish communities in Asia Minor* (1991), p.260 n.38.

Schedia (Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* i, p.26 and n.186, p.149 and n.134), an important customs post on the Nile, reached by canal from Alexandria, about fourteen miles away (Strabo, *Geog.* xvii 1.16 and 22), is envisaged in III Macc. iv 11 as the port to which Jews removed from the Egyptian communities by Ptolemy IV Philopator are shipped for Alexandria. The Jewish community here will have been connected with the river guard, which was entrusted to Jews (Josephus, *Ap.* ii 64; Kasher, *Egypt*, p.108). The king referred to here must be Ptolemy III Euergetes I, who married Berenice II in 246; the reference to 'children' dates the inscription to some years after the marriage. This inscription and no.117 below form the earliest Greek documentation of proseuchae built by Jewish communities; such a building

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at Schedia implies yet earlier proseuchae in Alexandria. On ὑπέρ, see no.13.

Limestone plaque, 37 x 29 cm. Letter forms: Δ Ε ° Γ Σ Ω.

23: Schedia (Nashwa (en Nashw), near Kafr ed-Dauwar): late Ptolemaic (?). Stele; epitaph; metrical.

Alexandria Museum.

Text follows E. Bernand, *IM* no.37, p.185.

παῖδά με Δωσιθέαν τὴν Οἰκ[- - -] |
 λεύσσων εἰς ξεστῆς γράμ[ματα ταῦτα (?) πέτρης]. |
 Θαλλοῦς ἐμ μεγάροισιν ἔγμ[ε (?) με - - -] |
 Χαιρή[μ]ων, θνήσκω δ' ἄλγες[ι πικροτάτοις (?)], |
 ὠδῖνας προφυγούσα, συναίμου [- - -] || 5
 πεντεκαεικοσέτης πνε[ῦμα λιποῦσα βίου (?)] |
 [κ]αὶ νοῦσῳ, τῇ πρόσθεν ε[- - -] |
 κείμεν δ' ἐν Σχεδίῃ, σῆμα λαχοῦσα τόδε (?)]. |
 ἀλλὰ παραστείχοντες ὁδ[ὸν τήνδε (?) εἶπατε πάντες (?)] |
 Δωσιθέα χρηστή, χαῖρε κ[αὶ ἐν φθιμένοις (?)]. 10

Οἰκ[- -] (1.1): Botti, Breccia οἰκ[αδε - -]; *SB* Οἰκ[ονόμου] or Οἰκ[οτέλους μάθε φῦναι]; Vogliano οἰκ[τραν ξεῖν' ἔλειαρε]; Peek (1931) οἰκ[τροτάτην, ξέν', ἄκουσον]; *SEG* οἰκ[τροτάτην, ξένη, κλαῦσον]; Peek (1955) Οἰκ[- - -], ξένη, κλαῦσον]

γράμ[ματα ταῦτα (?) πέτρης] (1.2): *SB* γράμ[ματα τῆσδε (?) πλακός]; Vogliano γράμ[ματα παῦρα (or λυγρὰ) πέτρης]

ἔγμ[ε (?) με - -] (1.3): *SB* ἔγμ[ε], [δ γε φίλτατος ἦν μοι]; *SEG* ἔγμ[ε με παῖς Θεοδώρου]

ἄλγες[ι πικροτάτοις (?)] (1.4): Vogliano ἄλγες[ι κυμοτόκοις] or κουφοτάτοις]

συναίμου (?) [- -] (1.5): Botti συναίμου[ς - -]; Peek (1931) συναίμου [πότμον ἐπέσπον]; *SEG* συναίμου [δ' αἶσαν ἐπέσπον]; Peek (1955) συναίμου [δ' οἶτον ἐπέσπον]

ε[- -] (1.7): Wilhelm, *SEG* ἐ[κείνος ἀπώλετ' ἄωρος]; Peek (1955)

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ἐ[καῖνος, κἀγὼ ἐδμήθην]

λ[αχοῦσα τόδε (?)] (l.8): *SB* λ[αχοῦσα κλυτόν]; *SEG* λ[αχοῦσα πρέπον]

ὁδ[ὸν τήνδε (?) εἶπατε πάντες (?)] (l.9): *SB* & *SEG* ὁδ[οῖποροι εἶπατε τύμβον]; Peek (1955) ὁδ[οῖποροι, εἶπατε πάντες]

.... I am Dosithea, child of Oik.... looking at this inscription on polished stone. In the house of Thallo, Chairemon married me, but I died in grievous (?) pain after fleeing beforehand from the pangs of childbirth, of a kinsman (?) at the age of twenty-five, losing the breath of life (?), and by an illness by which previously I lie in Schedia [with this] tomb [as my lot (?)]. But, passers-by [on this road, say, all of you (?): Dosithea, excellent woman, farewell, [even among the dead (?)].

G. Botti, 'Les inscriptions de Schédia', *BSKG* 10 (1901), p.617 (from the stone); G. Botti, 'Studio sul III nomo dell'Egitto inferiore', *BSAA* 4 (1902), p.48; E. Breccia, *Iscrizioni* (1911), pp.166-7 no.323 (from the stone); *SB* i (1915), pp.320-1 no.4312; A. Vogliano, 'Analecta epigraphica graeco-latina', *RIL* 48 (1915); W. Peek, 'Zu griechischen Epigrammen aus Aegypten', *Hermes* 66 (1931), pp.321-2 no.5; *SEG* viii (1937), p.78 no.469; W. Peek, *GV* (1955), no.1233 (from the stone and a squeeze); E. Bernand, *IM* (1969), pp.184-9 no.37, pl.XIV (photograph; from the stone).

A. Bludau, *Juden und Judenverfolgungen* (1906), p.8; W. Peek, 'Nachträgliches zu den Epigrammen aus Aegypten', *Hermes* 67 (1932), p.131 no.4; F. Bilabel, *Berichtigungsliste* ii.2 (1933) no.4312; A. Bernand, *Le delta égyptien* i (1970), pp.412, 438.

The lettering is the only evidence for dating; Bernand thought it was late Ptolemaic. A similar combination of letter forms is found in no.65, below, which is probably to be dated to A.D.1. The inscription is given the heading 'épitaphe juive' by Bernand, and Bludau (1906) treated it as part of the evidence for Jews in Schedia. Botti (1902) printed paragraphs about the Jews of Schedia before and after it, but did not actually say that he thought it Jewish. The name Dosithea, found in *CPJ* i no.47 (Jewish payer of land-tax, 2nd century B.C., in the Arsinoite nome) is the principal reason for thinking that the deceased was Jewish; V.A. Tcherikover (*CPJ* i, p.19) notes that in the Hellenistic period the masculine form of this name was used almost exclusively by Jews (as in no.34, below). Furthermore, the lack of decoration on the stele is unusual in Alexandria and the Delta, but normal

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for Jewish epitaphs (E. Bernand), notably those of Tell el-Yehoudieh (compare Bernand's comments noted on nos.39 and 40, below). The existence of a Jewish community at Schedia is known from the proseuche dedication above, no.22. These considerations seem to justify the inclusion of the inscription here, although it is no more than a probability that it is Jewish. As with most of the metrical epitaphs from Leontopolis, there is nothing particularly Jewish about the content of the inscription.

1 παῖδα requires a patronymic, for which Οἰκ... is presumably the beginning (see the restorations suggested in *SB*), although no suitable names are listed by Preisigke or Foraboschi. A verb of mourning (or perhaps finding out) in the imperative (addressed to passers-by) is needed at the end of the line: 'Weep for me, Dosithea the child of ...', or 'Know that I am Dosithea ...'.

2 Bernand regards the restoration of πέτρης as sure because of other epitaphs using some form of the phrase πέτρη ξεστή.

3 Several commentators thought that the first word was a shortened form of the participle θάλλουσα 'flourishing', but a feminine nominative is difficult to fit into the rest of the line. It could be the genitive of the feminine name Θαλλώ, presumably Dosithea's mother, but Bernand also notes that Θαλλοῦς is attested as a nominative form in Egypt, which would suggest the restoration ἔγγμ[ατό με], 'Thallous married me off'. The Homeric μέγαρον, 'halls', is used in *SB* v 7540 = E. Bernand, *IM* no.86 l.5 (2nd century A.D.) of the underwater palace of the Nile-god; for an application of similarly grand poetic language rather to the deceased's family house, as here, compare no.31 l.1, below, ἐν μ[εγά]λοις ... μελά[θ]ροις. ἐμ for ἐν; assimilation of final ν to an initial μ is much more frequent in Ptolemaic than later papyri, but continues to be found in the Roman period (Thackeray, *Grammar*, §9,4; Gignac, *Grammar*, i, p.106).

4 Bernand notes ἐν λοχίοις as another possible restoration ('in the pain of childbirth'), since δλγεσιν ἐν λοχίοις occurs in *A.P.* vii 165,4 and 164,5. In Egypt, recording death in childbirth seems to be a feature of Jewish epitaphs (see no.106, below). Chairemon, apparently the husband's name, was very common in Egypt, although not among Jews. It was the name of an Alexandrian philosopher and anti-Jewish writer who was one of Nero's teachers (see *JE*, s.v. Chaeremon).

5 Bernand sees this line as meaning that Dosithea died without having given birth, perhaps during pregnancy. The significance of προφυγοῦσα might be 'fleeing from' labour-pains in the same way that *SB* i 4229 (Saqqara, 3rd/4th century A.D.) refers to someone οὐλόμενον γήρας προφυγῶν, 'fleeing

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from deadly old age', with the προ- prefix indicating 'fleeing beforehand'. ὠδίνας προφυγούσα is a phrase of double meaning: (i) dying before she could have children, a *lament* characteristically made for the 'untimely dead' (cf. nos.38 l.8 and 50, below) – in an epigram by Leonides of Alexandria, Niobe's children are called ἐπὶ δὲ ὠδίνων (A.P. vii 549); (ii) but thereby avoiding the *pangs* of childbirth, part of life's burden (cf. A.P. vii 261, Diotimus, perhaps 3rd century B.C. τί πλέον εἰς ὠδὶνα πονεῖν;), a *consolation* on death as release from life's ills, a theme also often found in connection with untimely death (e.g. Sophocles, *Ant.* 462-4, cf. Phil. i 21 (early death as κέρδος); Job iii 11-23 LXX (early death as ἀνάπαυμα). See E. Griessmair, *Das Motiv der Mors immatura*, pp.75-7 on (i), 97-101 on (ii); Gow & Page, *Hellenistic epigrams*, ii (1968), pp.271, 275 (on the dating and themes of A.P. vii 261). Bernand notes that συναίμων might indicate that Dosithea had a brother who died at the same time or shortly before (as in Peek's 1955 restoration), but it is also possible that the word comes from the name Synaimous.

Rectangular limestone stele with damaged edges, 27 x 19 cm., with inscribed frame, and a guide-line above each line of lettering. Letter forms: Α Ε Θ Σ Ω.

24 (CIJ ii no.1441): Xenephyris (Kom el-Akhdar, near Damanhur): 140-116 B.C. Stele; honorific dedication of proseuche. Alexandria Museum.

Text follows A. Bernand, *Le delta égyptien* i, p.929.

ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου | καὶ βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας τῆς |
ἀδελφῆς καὶ βασιλίσσης Κλε|οπάτρας τῆς γυναικός, οἱ ἀπὸ |
Ξενεφύρεως Ἰουδαῖοι τὸν || πύλωνα τῆς προσευχῆς, | προστάτων
Θεοδώρου | καὶ Ἀχιλλίωνος.

On behalf of king Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra the sister and queen Cleopatra the wife, the Jews of Xenephyris (dedicated) the gateway of the proseuche when Theodore and Achillion were presiding.

E. Breccia, *Rapport sur la marche du service du musée d'Alexandrie en 1912* (1912), pp.36-7 no.88 (facsimile; from the stone); T. Reinach, 'Les juifs de Xénéfyris', *REJ* 65 (1913), pp.135-7; *SB* i (1915), p.645 no.5862; F. Bleckmann, 'Berichte über griechische und lateinische Epigraphik für 1913-

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14', *ZDPV* 38 (1915), p.232; A. Neppi Modona, 'La vita pubblica e privata degli ebrei in Egitto', *Aegyptus* 2 (1921), pp.268, 270; L. Fuchs, *Die Juden Aegyptens* (1924), p.14; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.367-8 no.1441 (photograph); P.M. Fraser, 'Some Alexandrian forgeries', *PBA* 47 (1961), pp.246-7, pl.XLIIia (photograph); *CPJ* iii (1964), p.141-2 no.1441; B. Lifshitz, *Donateurs* (1967), p.78-9 no.93; A. Bernand, *Le delta égyptien* i (1970), p.928-931, pl.50 nos.1 and 2 (photograph; from the stone); P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (1972), i p.84, ii pp.164 n.316, 215-6 n.232, 441 n.766, 443 nn.773-4, 476 n.121.

E. Breccia, 'Una nuova comunità israelitica nell'Egitto tolemaico', *RIsrE* 16 (1912); J. Offord, 'A new inscription concerning the Jews in Egypt', *PEFQS* (1914), pp.45-6; J. Juster, *Les juifs dans l'empire romain* i (1914), pp.348; S. Krauss, *Synagogale Altertümer* (1922), p.264; H.I. Bell, *Juden und Griechen im römischen Alexandria* (1926), p.50; S. Krauss, 'Synagoge', *RE* iv (1932), col.1307 no.130; V.A. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic civilization and the Jews* (1959), p.297 n.3, p.303 nn.24 and 28, p.349 n.23; G. Delling, 'Biblisch-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten', *BSAC* 22 (1974-5), p.11 n.2; A. Kasher, 'Three Jewish communities of Lower Egypt', *SCIsr* 2 (1975), p.116 n.15, p.121 n.47; E. Bernand, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum* i (1975), p.17 n.57; J.N. Sevenster, *The roots of pagan anti-semitism* (1975), p.160 n.80; E.M. Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman rule* (1976), p.224 n.18; P.E. Dion, 'Synagogues et temples', *Science et Esprit* 29 (1977), pp.55, 62, 65; A.T. Kraabel, 'Social systems of six Diaspora synagogues', in *Ancient synagogues*, ed. J. Gutmann (1981), p.90 n.15; Schürer revised ii (1982), pp.425-6 n.5; iii.i (1986), p.49; A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (1985), pp.111-4, 115 n.23b, 257-8 n.92; G.H.R. Horsley, *New documents* iv (1987), p.201; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.700 n.181; J.G. Griffiths, 'Egypt and the rise of the synagogue', *JTS* n.s.38 (1987), p.10; J. Méléze-Modrzejewski, *Les juifs d'Égypte* (1991), pp.81, 83; P. Trebilco, *Jewish communities in Asia Minor* (1991), p.229 n.28, p.260 n.38.

On ὁπάρι, see no.13. Frey plausibly sets the inscription in the later part of the reign of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (Physcon), after his attack on Philometor's supporters, including Jews, following the death of Ptolemy VI Philometor in 145 (see Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* i, pp.121-2, and ii, n.232). His marriage to Cleopatra III took place between Sep.140 and Feb.139 (L. Mooren, 'The wives and children of Ptolemy VIII', p.437), but both she and Cleopatra II were still alive at the time of his death in 116. In two other

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inscriptions where the three monarchs were honoured in the same wording, the names of Cleopatra 'the wife' and, in one case, of Ptolemy himself were erased, presumably during the revolt of Cleopatra II in 131–130 (*SB* i 1162, *APF* 5 p.416). With the 'gateway', compare the 'exedra' (28, below), also probably an annexed structure. *Propylon* is more common in non-Jewish Egyptian dedications; *pylon* here, less characteristically Egyptian, suits a Jewish building (A. Bernand).

προστάντων, 'when [Theodore and Achillion] were presiding', probably implies that they held the office of *prostates* (Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* ii, p.476, n.121 (referring to this inscription as *SB* v 862); revised Schürer iii.i, p.102, n.54; Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* pp.111-4). The theophoric name Theodore was popular among Jews in Egypt and elsewhere (Tcherikover, *Jews in Egypt*, p.190; twelve instances including this listed by Rokeah, *CPJ* iii p.177). Achillion occurs here only as Jewish, but much later Achilles (A.D.151, 156, 158–65) and Achilleus (c.A.D.295) are found as names used by Jews.

Undecorated limestone stele, 20 x 26 cm. Letters painted in black. Letter forms: A E O Σ Ω.

25 (*CIJ* ii no.1442): Nitriai (probably el-Barnûgi, about 9 miles s.w. of Damanhur): 140–116 B.C. Stele; honorific dedication of proseuche. Alexandria Museum.

Text follows A. Bernand, *Le delta égyptien* i, p.960.

ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου | καὶ βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας | τῆς
ἀδελφῆς καὶ βασιλίσσης | Κλεοπάτρας τῆς γυναικὸς | Εὐεργετῶν,
οἱ ἐν Νιτρίαις || Ἰουδαῖοι τὴν προσευχὴν | καὶ τὰ συνκύροντα.

συνκύροντα (l.7): *CIJ* συγκύροντα

On behalf of king Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra the sister and queen Cleopatra the wife, Benefactors, the Jews in Nitriai (dedicated) the proseuche and its appurtenances.

E. Breccia, 'Note epigrafiche', *BSAA* 24 (1929), pp.61-2 no.2 (facsimile; from the stone); *SB* iv (1931), p.92 no.7454; *SEG* viii (1937), p.58 no.366; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.369 no.1442 (photograph); *CPJ* iii (1964), p.142 no.1442; B. Lifshitz,

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Donateurs (1967), p.79 no.94; A. Bernand, *Le delta égyptien i* (1970), p.959-961, pl.49, no.3 (photograph; from the stone); A. Kasher, 'Three Jewish communities of Lower Egypt', *SCIsr* 2 (1975), p.116 n.15, p.121.

E.R. Goodenough, *Jewish symbols ii* (1958), pp.84-5; V.A. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic civilization and the Jews* (1959), p.297 n.3, p.303 n.28, p.349 n.23; P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria ii* (1972), pp.164 n.316, 441 n.766; J.N. Sevenster, *The roots of pagan anti-semitism* (1975), p.160 n.80; E.M. Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman rule* (1976), p.224 n.18; P.E. Dion, 'Synagogues et temples', *Science et Esprit* 29 (1977), pp.55, 57, 60; A.T. Kraabel, 'Social systems of six Diaspora synagogues', in *Ancient synagogues*, ed. J. Gutmann (1981), p.90 n.15; A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (1985), pp.57, 114-6, 213, 257-8 n.92; Schürer revised iii.i (1986), p.49; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.700 n.181; G.H.R. Horsley, *New documents iv* (1987), p.201; J. Mélèze-Modrzejewski, *Les juifs d'Égypte* (1991), pp.81, 83; P. Trebilco, *Jewish communities in Asia Minor* (1991), p.260 n.38.

Ancient Nitriai, reached from Alexandria by crossing Lake Mareotis (Palladius, *Lausiac History* vii 1, quoted by Bernand, p.935), probably corresponds not to the modern Wādī'n Natrūn (Breccia, followed by *CIJ*, *CPJ* and Kasher, pp.114-6) but to el-Barnugi (as later shown by H.G. Evelyn White, *The monasteries of the Wādī'n Natrūn ii* (New York, 1932), pp.17-24 (translated and followed by Bernand, p.948); so D.J. Chitty, *The desert a city* (Oxford, 1966), pp.11-12 and map facing p.89. On ἱερός, see no.13; on the date, see no.24; on συνκυρόντα, see no.9.

Undecorated limestone stele, 39 x 60 cm. Letter forms: Α Ε Γ Σ Ω.

26: Naucratis: 30 B.C.– A.D.14. Statuette base (?).

Unknown.

Text follows A. Bernand, *Le delta égyptien ii* no.28, p.760.

[- - Α]μμωνίου συναγωγῆς | [- - σ]υνδῶ Σαμβαθικῇ | [(ἔτους) ..
Καί]σαρος, Φαμενῶθ ζ'.

[- - σ]υνδῶ (1.2): Gardner [ἐν σ]υνδῶ, de Ricci [ἀνέθηκεν τῇ σ]υνδῶ

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...., son of Ammonios, president to the Sambathic association, in the ... year of Caesar, Phamenoth 7.

E.A. Gardner, *Naucratis* ii (1888), p.68 no.15, pl.XXII no.15 (facsimile; from the stone); *IGRR* i (1908) no.1106; S. de Ricci, 'Lettre à M. le secrétaire perpétuel', *CRAI* (1909), p.145 (from the stone); *SB* i (1915), p.4 no.12; A. Bernand, *Le delta égyptien* ii (1970), pp.759-60 no.28, iii pl.41 fig.3 (facsimile).

E. Ziebarth, *Das griechische Vereinswesen* (1896), p.61; F. Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* (1909), p.575 no.B459; S. Krauss, *Synagogale Altertümer* (1922), p.26; L. Fuchs, *Die Juden Aegyptens* (1924), pp.128-9; C. Roberts, T.C. Skeat & A.D. Nock, 'The gild of Zeus Hypsistos', *HTR* 29 (1936), p.74; H. Youtie, 'Sambathis', *HTR* 37 (1944), p.213; V.A. Tcherikover, *CPJ* iii (1964), pp.43-56; E. Bernand, *Les inscriptions grecques et latines de Philae* ii (1969), p.71; M. San Nicolò, *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen* ii (1972), p.62; G. Delling, 'Biblisch-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten', *BSAC* 22 (1974-5), p.26 n.1; E. Bernand, *Répertoire bibliographique des IGRR* (1983), p.30 no.1106.

The text was first published by Gardner, who thought that the inscription was probably complete at the top; there is a clear margin on the right-hand side. He noted (pp.19-20) that most of the finds from Naucratis were sent to museums in Britain, and de Ricci said this one was in the British Museum, but it has not been listed in any of the museum's catalogues. The reading of συναγωγός in l.1 is due to de Ricci (and was previously restored in the *IGRR* text, which otherwise followed Gardner); Gardner noted only parts of letters, without suggesting how they should be interpreted.

The Sambathic association mentioned in the inscription is likely to take its name either from the sabbath (with the change of -ββ- to -μβ- which is also found in sabbath names) or from the Jewish sibyl (and putative goddess of the sabbath) Sambathis. The theory maintained by Ziebarth and Youtie that it worshipped the goddess Sambethe from Asia Minor is refuted by Tcherikover's arguments that such a goddess never existed (*CPJ* iii, pp.47-9). The title is analogous to Ἀπολλωνιακή σύνοδος in *SB* i 312 and Ἑσπερχηβιακή σύνοδος in *SB* i 4211; there are many other references to σύνοδος as the title of religious associations in Egypt. It is possible that the Sambathic association consisted of Jews, but since there are no other records of a Jewish community at Naucratis it is more likely that the members were sabbath observers and not full Jews – perhaps the sort of people like the

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man described by Juvenal (xiv 96-101) as 'metuentem sabbata', whose son becomes a proselyte. The evidence about sabbath observers is discussed by Tcherikover (esp. pp.45-7, 51-4), and that on 'godfearers' by Reynolds & Tannenbaum, *Jews and godfearers*, pp.48-66. If the stone is really a statuette base, which has been supposed because of two holes in the upper and lower sides, it might suggest that the Sambathic association did not share the sensibilities of some Jews about images (see comments on no.20, above).

An inscription from Cilicia (*OGIS* ii 573) refers to a group of Σαββατισταί with an officer called a συναγωγός; it is unclear in that case too whether the people are Jews or judaizers. συναγωγός is also the title of the officer of the Isis-worshipping association in *SB* i 5022.

Ammonios is found as a name used by Jews in Syria (*CIJ* ii 852) and Cyrenaica (*CJZC* 72.9, app.12h), but was of course very common among pagans.

Limestone block, 7.6 x 18 x 18 cm., one side damaged, holes on upper and lower faces. Letter forms: A E C Ω.

27 (*CIJ* ii no.1443): Athribis (Benha): 2nd or 1st century B.C. Plaque; honorific dedication of proseuche.

Unknown.

Text follows S. Reinach, *REJ* 17 (1888), pp.236-7 (see below).

ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου | καὶ βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας, |
Πτολεμαῖος Ἐπικίδου, | ὁ ἐπιστάτης τῶν φυλακῶν, | καὶ οἱ ἐν
Ἀθρίβει Ἰουδαῖοι, || τὴν προσευχὴν | θεῷ ὑψίστῳ.

On behalf of king Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra, Ptolemy son of Epikydes, chief of police, and the Jews in Athribis (dedicated) the proseuche to the Most High God.

S. Reinach, 'La communauté juive d'Athribis', *REJ* 17 (1888), pp.235-8 (from a copy as reproduced in print by E.E. Roupas, Γεωγραφικαὶ Σημειώσεις, in the journal *Homeros* (Smyrna, 1876), pp.365-6, 407); S. Reinach, 'La communauté juive d'Athribis dans la Basse-Égypte', *BCH* 13 (1889), p.179 (identical with the foregoing apart from additional introductory paragraphs in *REJ*); *OGIS* i (1903), pp.170-1 no.96; K. Buchheim, 'Jüdische Synagogeninschriften in

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Alexandria', *AZJ* 67 (1903), p.487; U. Wilcken, Review of *OGIS*, *APF* 3 (1906), p.322; J. Oehler, 'Epigraphische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Judentums', *MGWJ* 53 (1909), pp.451-2 no.230; M. Engers, 'Observationes ad Aegypti pertinentes administrationem', *Mnemosyne* 45 (1917), p.260; A. Neppi Modona, 'La vita pubblica e privata degli ebrei in Egitto', *Aegyptus* 2 (1921), pp.261, 267, 270; 3 (1922), p.25; L. Fuchs, *Die Juden Aegyptens* (1924), pp.11, 128; A.B. Cook, *Zeus. A study in ancient religion* ii.ii (1925), p.889; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.370-1 no.1443; W. Peremans and E. van 't Dack, *Prosopographica Ptolemaica* ii (1952), p.244 no.4537; viii, p.227 no.4537; E. Gabba, *Iscrizioni greche e latine* (1958), pp.24-5 no.6; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.142 no.1443; B. Lifshitz, *Donateurs* (1967), p.79 no.95; A. Kasher, 'Three Jewish communities of Lower Egypt', *SCIsr* 2 (1975), pp.117, 119; Schürer revised iii.i (1986), pp.49, 136 n.41; G.H.R. Horsley, *New documents* iv (1987), p.201 no.110.2.

S. Reinach, 'Chronique d'Orient', *RevArch* 14 (1889), p.138; H. Willrich, *Juden und Griechen* (1895), pp.151-2; M.L. Strack, *Die Dynastie der Ptolemäer* (1897), p.274 n.166; A. Büchler, *Die Tobiaden und die Oniaden* (1899), p.234 n.59; S. de Ricci, 'Paleography', *JE* ix (1905), p.473; A. Bludau, *Juden und Judenverfolgungen* (1906), p.34; E. Schürer, *Geschichte* iii (1909), p.43, cf. p.132 n.40; P. Wendland, *Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur* (1912), pp.107-8; S. Krauss, *Synagogale Altertümer* (1922), pp.264, 349; J. Gutmann, 'Athribis', *EJ* iii (1929), cols.624-5; S. Krauss, 'Synagoge', *RE* iv (1932), p.1306 no.128; A. Calderini, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto romano* i.i (1935), p.32; C. Roberts, T.C. Skeat & A.D. Nock, 'The gild of Zeus Hypsistos', *HTR* 29 (1936), p.69 n.80; *CIJ* i (1936), pp.8, 17 & n.46 (as *OGIS* 96); V.A. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic civilization and the Jews* (1959), p.297 n.3, p.303 n.28, p.340 n.34, p.349 n.23; P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* ii (1972), p.441 n.766 (IV); p.476 n.121; S. Applebaum, 'The legal status of the Jewish communities in the Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.424 n.4; J.N. Sevenster, *The roots of pagan anti-semitism* (1975), p.160 n.80; P.E. Dion, 'Synagogues et temples', *Science et Esprit* 29 (1977), pp.55-6; M. Hengel, *Jews, Greeks and barbarians* (1980), p.95 n.15; A.T. Kraabel, 'Social systems of six Diaspora synagogues', in *Ancient synagogues*, ed. J. Gutmann (1981), p.90 n.15; J. Mélèze-Modrzejewski, 'Splendeurs grecques et misères romaines', in *Les juifs du Nil*, ed. J. Hassoun (1981), p.27; E. Bernand, *Répertoire bibliographique des OGIS* (1982), p.26 no.96; A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (1985), pp.116-8, 202 n.50; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987),

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p.700 nn.181-2; M. Hengel, 'The interpenetration of Judaism and Hellenism', *CHJ* ii (1989), p.197 n.6; J. Mélèze-Modrzejewski, *Les juifs d'Égypte* (1991), p.81; P. Trebilco, *Jewish communities in Asia Minor* (1991), p.133 & n.27, p.260 n.38.

The inscriptions 27 and 28 and the fragmentary 135 were discovered at Benha c.1876, bought by T. Kovatchevitch, and sold by him towards the end of June 1876 'à un anglais dont on ne donne pas le nom' (S. Reinach, *REJ* 17, summarizing E.E. Roupas, and republishing from Roupas the copies of the inscriptions made by T.I. Stavrinides).

On $\theta\acute{\alpha}\rho\varsigma$, see no.13. The king is named first, and the date is therefore unlikely to be a time when a Cleopatra acted as regent for her son or brother; but eligible periods include parts of the reigns, while married to a Cleopatra, of Ptolemy V Epiphanes (194-180), Ptolemy VI Philometor (175-170, when his brother Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II became co-ruler), Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (145-140, after which date he was simultaneously the husband of two Cleopatras; see L. Mooren, 'The wives and children of Ptolemy VIII'), Ptolemy X Alexander I (101-88), Ptolemy XI Alexander II (80) and Ptolemy XII (Auletes) (79-68).

Ptolemy was a common name among Egyptian Jews: the prosopography of *CPJ* has nine examples from papyri, and see also no.122 below. A Jewish $\phi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\kappa\tau\eta\varsigma$ witnessed a document of 173 B.C. at Hephaistias in the Fayum (*CPJ* i, pp.167-8 no.25). For the pagan and Jewish divine title $\theta\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ see Gen. xiv 18-19, 22 (comments on the LXX by M. Harl, *La genèse* (Paris, 1986), pp.160-1), Num. xxiv 16, Deut. xxxii 8, etc; Fraser, i, p.282 & nn.764-5; M. Simon, 'Theos Hypsistos', *Ex orbe religionum* (Mélanges G. Widengren) (Leiden, 1972), i, pp.372-85; Reynolds & Tannenbaum, *Jews and godfearers*, pp.138-40 nos.11-12 (possibly Jewish inscriptions from Aphrodisias).

Marble plaque. Letter forms: A E Σ Ω.

28 (*CIJ* ii no.1444): Athribis (Benha): 2nd or 1st century B.C. Plaque; honorific dedication of part of proseuche.

Unknown.

Text follows S. Reinach, *REJ* 17 (1888), p.236 (majuscule text; see no.27), as transcribed and corrected by D.M. Lewis, *CPJ* iii no.1444, p.143.

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ὕπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου | καὶ βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας | καὶ
τῶν τέκνων | Ἑρμίας καὶ Φιλοτέρα ἡ γυνὴ | καὶ τὰ παιδιά τήνδε
ἐξέδραν || τῇ προσευχῇ(ι).

Φιλοτέρα (I.4): *CIJ* Φιλ(ω)τέρα

προσευχῇ(ι) (I.6): *iota for nu* on the stone (Reinach, pp.236-7)

On behalf of king Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra and their children, Hermias and his wife Philotera and their children (gave) this exedra to the proseuche.

S. Reinach, 'La communauté juive d'Athribis', *REJ* 17 (1888), pp.235-8; S. Reinach, 'La communauté juive d'Athribis dans la Basse-Égypte', *BCH* 13 (1889), p.179 (identical with the foregoing apart from additional introductory paragraphs in *REJ*); *OGIS* i (1903), p.177 no.101; A. Neppi Modona, 'La vita pubblica e privata degli ebrei in Egitto', *Aegyptus* 2 (1921), pp.267, 270; L. Fuchs, *Die Juden Aegyptens* (1924), p.11; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.371 no.1444; *SB* v (1955), p.550 no.8875; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.143 no.1444; B. Lifshitz, *Donateurs* (1967), pp.79-80 no.96; A. Kasher, 'Three Jewish communities of Lower Egypt', *SCIsr* 2 (1975), p.117, p.121 n.46; Schürer revised iii.i (1986), pp.49, 136 n.41; G.H.R. Horsley, *New documents* iv (1987), p.201 no.110.1.

H. Willrich, *Juden und Griechen* (1895), p.152; A. Büchler, *Die Tobiaden und die Oniaden* (1899), p.234; S. Krauss, *Synagogale Altertümer* (1922), p.349; J. Gutmann, 'Athribis', *EJ* iii (1929), p.625; S. Krauss, 'Synagoge', *RE* iv (1932), col.1307 no.128; A. Calderini, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto romano* i.i (1935), p.32; E.R. Goodenough, *Jewish symbols* ii (1958), p.85; V.A. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic civilization and the Jews* (1959), p.303 n.28, p.349 n.23; P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* i (1972), pp.84, 282; ii, pp.164 n.316, 441 n.766 (IV), 443 n.773; J.N. Sevenster, *The roots of pagan anti-semitism* (1975), p.160 n.80; P.E. Dion, 'Synagogues et temples', *Science et Esprit* 29 (1977), pp.55, 62 n.78; A.T. Kraabel, 'Social systems of six Diaspora synagogues', in *Ancient synagogues*, ed. J. Gutmann (1981), p.90 n.15; E. Bernand, *Répertoire bibliographique des OGIS* (1982), p.27 no.101; A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (1985), pp.115-7; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.117 no.493; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.700 n.181; J.G. Griffiths, 'Egypt and the rise of the synagogue', *JTS* n.s.38 (1987), p.9; J. Mélèze-Modrzejewski, *Les juifs d'Égypte* (1991), p.81; P.

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Trebilco, *Jewish communities in Asia Minor* (1991), p.260 n.38.

No.28 is dated a little later than no.27 in *CIJ* and *CPJ*, but Kasher (1985), pp.116-7, urges that both are of the same time, their object being to distinguish the different donors and contributions; the latter view seems more probable, for it is likely that the plan of the proseuche would have included a main hall and subsidiary structures (cf. τὴν προσευχὴν καὶ τὰ συνκυρόνια at Nitriai in no.25, above, and the same phrase, partly restored, in no.9).

Exedra (1.5) had a wide range of meaning in the Hellenistic and Roman periods; a loan-word in Latin, Hebrew and Aramaic (including Syriac and Palmyrene), it is applied to structures ranging from free-standing outdoor sitting-places to sub-divisions of or annexes to private houses and public buildings, including gymnasia, temples and churches (see S. Krauss, *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter in Talmud und Midrasch* (2 vols, Berlin, 1898-9), ii, pp.44-5; G. Starra Tedde in E. de Ruggiero, ed., *Dizionario epigrafico*, ii (1961), pp.2182-9; and F.W. Deichmann, 'Exedra', *RAC* vi (1966), cols.1165-74). Here it seems likely to be a room with one open side, annexed to the main hall, provided with seating, and used for meeting and discussion, perhaps including judicial and teaching sessions.

(i) Although sometimes free-standing, in both private and public buildings the exedra was commonly annexed to another structure. Vitruvius (v 11.2) recommends the formation of exedrae in the porticoes of a palaestra, so that philosophers, rhetors and others who are studiously inclined may sit and dispute, and the curia of Pompey, where the senate met on the Ides of March, was an exedra belonging to a portico (Plutarch, *Bru.* xiv 2, xvii 1). Comparably, the exedra of Midas (107/6 B.C.) in the Syrian sanctuary at Delos, one of a number of exedrae there, had an opening into a portico (*Inscr. Delos* 2253-4, and P. Roussel, *Délos colonie athénienne* (Paris, 1916), pp.259-60); and lofty exedrae opened off the gates of Herod's temple in Jerusalem (Josephus, *B.J.* v 203). Accordingly, with reference to private houses, in rabbinic texts an exedra is sometimes mentioned together with a gatehouse (cf. no.24) and a gallery, structures which could be annexed to a house; so in Mishnah, Sotah viii 3 it is laid down that building an exedra, etc., is *not* covered by the reference to building 'a house' in Deut. xx 5, and the question is discussed at Sifre Deut. 194, and in Targ. Judg. iii 24 an exedra is the room separating Eglon's upper chamber from the outside world.

(ii) Many occurrences of the word, including those noted in (i), would be suited by the meaning implied (with reference to a private house) in

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Mishnah, Oholoth vi 2, a room with three walls and a roof-covering, but open on one side (revised Schürer, ii, p.57, n.166; E. Ben Yehuda, *Lexicon Totius Hebraeatis*, i, p.216); compare Vitruvius vii 9.2 'loci aperti'.

(iii) Exedrae in public buildings provided seating for philosophic or communal debate (Vitruvius and Plutarch, as cited in (i)). Similarly, the Alexandrian Museum had περίπατον καὶ ἐξέδραν καὶ οἶκον μέγαν (Strabo, *Geog.* xviii 1.8; a visitor would perhaps encounter the three items in the order of his list); as the 'house' was used for dining (Strabo, *ibid.*), the walk and the exedra probably served respectively for peripatetic and seated discussion. An exedra is envisaged as a judgment-hall by Josephus, when he describes Solomon's αἶλμα τῶν θρόνων 'porch of the seats' (III Kingdoms vii 44 = I Kings vii 7) as 'a magnificent exedra' (Josephus, *Ant.* viii 134). In the temple of Ezekiel's vision, some exedrae were approached by a περίπατος (compare the Museum); others were used by the priests for keeping their garments of ministry (Ezek. xlii 1, xliv 19 LXX), and included a place for boiling or baking the offerings (Ezek. xlvi 19-20 LXX). In Alexandria the Serapeum likewise had many exedrae, for use by sacristans and those undergoing purification, according to Rufinus, *H.E.* xi 23.

Two principal identifications of the Athribis exedra are current: (a) vestibule (S. Reinach), *Vorhalle* (πρόναος, as in the Mantinea sunagogue (*CIJ* 720, fourth cent. A.D.)) (S. Krauss, *Altertümer*, p.349, followed by *CIJ*), *portique* (B. Lifshitz); (b) (from the function of an exedra as a sitting-place) wall-bench (E.R. Goodenough), a raised podium or βῆμα inside the proseuche (P.M. Fraser, ii, p.443, n.773; tentatively, but also asking why, if the exedra was a portico or a πρόναος, it was not so called). The suggestions of wall-bench or podium, however, seem less likely in view of the evidence ((i) and (ii), above) for exedrae as distinct but annexed rooms. On the other hand, as Fraser indicates, the exedra called by that name should not be viewed entirely as a πρόναος; it will indeed have been an annexe to the proseuche, and the proseuche might well have been accessible through it, but it will also have been important in its own right. Its use for discussion, as in the passages noted under (i) and (iii) above, could be envisaged as including judicial and teaching sessions, and would fit Philo's emphasis (e.g. *Leg.* 156) on the proseuchae as places of education in the ancestral philosophy.

Hermias is found as a name used by Jews in Egypt (*CPJ* 88.3) and Rome (*CIJ* 220) Philotera occurs here only in Egyptian and Cyrenaic Jewish evidence, but belongs to a group of names beginning Φιλ- which were popular among Jews (no.2, above).

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Marble plaque. Letter forms: A Σ.

29 (CIJ ii no.1451): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh); necropolis: 1st century B.C. or A.D. Stele; epitaph; metrical.

Cairo Museum.

Text follows E. Bernand, *IM* no.70, p.282.

[- - - - -]

[- - - -] | με καὶ νῦν

ὃ [π]αροδεῖτα, ὁ γεν|νήσας γὰρ μ[έγ]α πένθει

τηκό|μενος ψυχῇ[ι σ]ὺν γένει ἡδὲ φί|λοις.

εἰ δὲ θέλε[ις], γνῶναι δύνα||σαι πόσση πίσ[τις]

5

ἡδὲ χάρις, καὶ | πῶς πάντες ὀδυρμὸς ἔχει.

δεῦ|ρ' ἴθι καὶ ἐρώτησον Σομόη(λ)ον | υἱὸν Δωρᾶτος

[τί]ς, ποταπός.

πάντες (l.6): l. πάντας

Σομόη(λ)ον (l.7): *lambda* for *delta* on the stone

[τί]ς ποταπός (l.8): *CIJ* [τίς, ποτ]απός[

.... me even now, passer-by. For my father greatly mourns, melted in his soul, along with my family and friends. But if you wish, you can know how great was (my) faithfulness and grace, and how all are possessed by grief. Come hither and ask Somoelos son of Doras, who and whence (he was)

....

E. Naville, 'Report of the necropolis of Tell-el-Yahoodieh', *The Academy* 31 (1887), pp.295-6 (from the stone); E. Naville, 'The mound of the Jew and the city of Onias', *Egypt Exploration Fund*, 7th Memoir (1890), p.15 and pl.III B (facsimile; from the stone); J.G. Milne, *Greek inscriptions* (1905), p.61 no.9253 (from the stone); H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), p.285 no.37 = *KS* i (1958), p.442; *SEG* viii (1937), p.83 no.485; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.382-3 no.1451; *CPJ* iii (1964), pp.145-6 no.1451; E. Bernand, *IM* (1969), pp.281-4 no.70, pl.xxii (photograph; from the stone); A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (1985), p.129

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(facsimile).

E. Naville, 'Les fouilles du Delta pendant l'hiver de 1887', *Recueil de Travaux* 10 (1888), p.55; S. Reinach, 'Chronique d'Orient', *RevArch* 11 (1888), p.390; F. Ll. Griffith, 'The antiquities of Tell el-Yahoudieh', *Egypt Exploration Fund*, 7th Memoir (1890), p.52; W. Peek, 'Griechische Epigramme aus Aegypten', *BSAA* 27 (1932), p.62; G. Delling, 'Biblisch-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten', *BSAC* 22 (1974-5), p.10 n.2; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; Schürer revised iii.i (1986), p.146 n.33; C. Sirat et al., *La ketouba de Cologne* (1986), p.33 n.7.

The top of the stele bearing this epitaph is lost, and there are traces of letters at the transverse break. The remainder of the stele is broken into two longitudinally. The inscription is arranged within a sunk field. Plenty of room is left at the foot; the eighth surviving line of letters is completed on the stone, but the text ends abruptly with the end of this line, and the cutting of the inscription was perhaps unfinished.

The fragments of the stele were found in the Middle Cemetery at Tell el-Yehoudieh (see Introduction), and the name Σομόηλος (l.7) occurs also in the prose epitaph no.58, below, probably from Tell el-Yehoudieh (bought in Cairo). The likely limits of dating, as with other Tell el-Yehoudieh epitaphs, are from the settlement of Onias's colony in the mid-second century B.C. to the Jewish revolt under Trajan, A.D.115-7; the lettering suggests the imperial period, according to E. Bernand.

The departed addresses the passer-by, beginning his report from the mourning his death has caused, as in Peek *GV* nos.1116-25. The elegiac metre is sometimes defective or surprising throughout the surviving text (the hexameter lines 3,5,7). The vestiges of one line of letters can be seen above the line beginning με, but 'it is impossible to reckon the number of lines which have disappeared at the top of the stele. At least one distich is missing' (E. Bernand). On the assumption that με καὶ νῦν is the ending of a metrical line, a pentameter completing an elegiac distich would most readily be expected, and καὶ must then have been scanned as a short syllable, as E. Bernand suggests, although it is long in ll.6-7 (but note the phonetic change whereby α became interchangeable with ε, Thackeray, *Grammar*, §6,11; Gignac, *Grammar*, i, pp.192-3). Alternatively, on the more readily expected scansion, the line may have been a hexameter, irregularly admitted as at no.35, l.5 below or Peek, *GV* 1198 = E. Bernand, *IM* no.75, ll.14 and 18. In l.3, either a long element is lacking in the fourth or fifth foot, or μ[έ]γα is

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scanned as a spondee (the stress on the first syllable might possibly have slowed and emphasized the word). In 1.5 there is a similar lack of a long in the fourth foot, or a long or two shorts in the fifth foot. In 1.7, there are short elements which would normally have been valued as long in the second and last syllables of ἐρώτησον and the last syllable of υἱόν; compare no.36 1.5, below, for the mixture of ω with ο, and the exclusion of lengthening before a final consonant which is followed by an initial consonant in the next word. By contrast, the last syllable of Σομόηλον is long, and the name appears to be scanned as a short and two longs by synizesis; compare E. Bernand, *IM* no.75, 1.5, the proper name Δημητρίου. However the metrical phenomena are to be explained, this epitaph clearly includes lines which are rough by comparison with the best available to Leontopolis patrons (e.g. in no.38, below). It can be compared in this respect with nos.35, 36 and 37, below, or, among non-Jewish inscriptions from Egypt, with E. Bernand, *IM* 12 = *SEG* xv 878 (Hellenistic), 52 = Peek GV 1556 (second century A.D. or later), 96 = Peek GV 1245 (c. second century A.D.).

πίσις ἡδὲ χάρις (11.5-6) are qualities of the dead son (Bernand, against Frey, who applies them to the father in his translation), but are probably not to be understood theologically, although Bernand takes them as faith in God and the grace of God, thinking Somcelos too young to be praised for fidelity, and a Jewish epitaph unlikely to vanut physical grace (contrast p.38, where he takes χάρις here in the sense of beauty). In Septuagintal usage πίσις regularly has the moral sense of 'faithfulness' (e.g. Ecclus i 27 πίσις καὶ πραότης, cf. xlv 4) or reliability (as opposed to bribery, Ecclus xl 12); in this sense it converged with the conception of πίσις among the Stoics, for whom it was a great virtue (Epictetus, *Diss.* ii 41, ὁ ἀνθρώπος πρὸς πίσιν γέγονεν, quoted by R. Bultmann s.v. πιστεύω κτλ., *TDNT* vi p.182). πιστός in the moral sense is the epithet of Moses (Num. xii 7) and David (LXX II Kingdoms xxiii 1) and πίσις the political virtue of Moses (Ecclus xlv 4) and Simon Maccabaeus (I Macc. xiv 35). The Septuagintal usage, especially in its political aspect, is comparable with the treatment of πίσις as a political and civic virtue in inscriptions from the 2nd century B.C. onwards, no doubt against the Stoic background noted above; see L. Robert, *Études d'épigraphie grecque*, *RPh* 1 (1927), pp.104-5 (examples from Asia Minor and Greece), and J. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* (1982), docs 30 (1st century B.C.) and 25 (A.D. 250/1). In the examples quoted by Robert and Reynolds, πίσις is linked with virtues including σύνεσις, εὐσέβεια, ἀρετή and καλοκάγαθια, but not with χάρις. χάρις, without losing its sense of 'charm', acquired moral overtones in the LXX, especially in the Wisdom books, e.g.

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Prov. iii 22 (counsel and understanding are grace to the neck); the passage beginning in Eccclus xl 12 with πίστις ends by commending χάρις, made to parallel ἐλεημοσύνη in the sense of 'generosity' (Eccclus xl 17; compare the use of the plural in no.39, l.8, below). 'Grace' here, then, is probably primarily 'graciousness', not without the external as well as internal reference of the word. For mature virtue in those who die young, see Wisd. iv 7-16.

For πάντες (l.6) one would expect the accusative πάντας; compare no.34 below, l.3, where πάντας appears on the stone, but πάντες would be expected; the two forms seem to have been interchangeable in common usage (Bernand, *IM*, p.94). On the frequent interchange of α and ε, see Thackeray, *Grammar*, §6,2-6 and Gignac, *Grammar*, i, pp.278-83.

The name Somoelos (also in no.58), probably a declinable form of Hebrew Samuel, is the name of two of the LXX translators in the Letter of Aristeas, 47-8; a third (50) is called Σαμουήλος, the declinable Greek form found in Josephus. The LXX, Philo and the N.T. use the indeclinable Σαμουήλ. Just possibly Somoelos corresponds to Σαμαήλ = (I)shmael, Ezra x 22. ὕμνω occurs as a probably Jewish name on an ostrakon of the Greek period (Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, ii, pp.243-8). More probably, however, there were several current Greek forms of the name Samuel, as in the case of Abraham (no.39, l.4, below). This view (similarly, Tcherikover, *Jews in Egypt*, p.184) is confirmed by later Beth She'arim epitaphs, with the forms Σαμουέλ, Σαμουήλος, Σαμουῖλος and (close to Somoelos) Σουμωήλος (Schwabe & Lifshitz, *Beth She'arim*, ii, pp.90 (no.202) & 109 (index). Cohen, 'Translators', pp.61-2, associates Somoelos with Samuel, noting without discussion that the two forms of the name in the Letter of Aristeas raise questions. For the name Doras (l.7), a contracted form of Dorotheus, cf. Josephus, *Ant.* xx 163 (a native of Jerusalem, c.A.D.55).

The end of the epitaph at the end of a line of letters, but after only one and a half feet of the metrical line, suggests that the cutting was unfinished. The surviving text has already told 'who', but not 'whence' Somoelos was (these two formulaic queries are neatly paraphrased and answered in no.38, ll.2-4, below). Given the consistent attempt at verse in this epitaph, it seems likely that at least the remainder of a pentameter is missing at the end.

Limestone stele with upper part missing, 49 x 49 cm., recessed field. Letter forms: Α Ε C Ω.

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30 (Plate X; *CIJ* ii no.1490): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): 117 B.C. Stele; epitaph; metrical.

Alexandria Museum.

Text follows E. Bernand, *IM* no.14, p.89.

ὦδ' ὑπὸ τὸ σπλάδος μέλαθρον, ξένε, κεῖται ? - - -]
 Δημᾶς, γῆρας ἀφείς μητρὸς ἐλεινοτά[της] |
 καὶ τέκνα νήπι' ἐλαινὰ καὶ αὐστηρὰν πα[ράκοιτιν], |
 πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων βοιθὸς ἐὼν σοφ[ίαι]. |
 κλαύσατε τὸν προλιπόντα τὸ σεμνότα[τον ὠ ὠ - ὠ] || 5
 καὶ πόλιν, ἀνθρώπων δ' ἤθεα καὶ φίλιαν. |

[Δ]ημᾶς ὡς (ἐτῶν) λη'. | (ἔτους) νδ' Ἀθ[ύ]ρ γ'. |

καὶ σὺ Ἀλέξανδρε | πασίφιλε καὶ ἀνέγ|κλητε
 χρη[στ]ὲ χαῖρε[ι].

κεῖται... (1.1): *CPJ* κεῖμαι...

[- - -] (1.1): Wilhelm [τητρός], Lietzmann [ἀναυδος], Peek [ἄωρος]

ἐὼν σοφ[ίαι] (1.4): *CPJ* ἐὼν συν[έσει], *CIJ* ἐὼν σο[.....]

σεμνότα[τον ὠ ὠ - ὠ] (1.5): Lietzmann σεμνότα[τον βιότευμα], Wilhelm σεμνότα[τον πολίτευμα], Crönert σεμνότα[της ἔδος ἀρχῆς]

[Δ]ημᾶς (1.7): *CIJ* ι[....]

Here under the shelter of stone, stranger, lies Demas, leaving behind a most unhappy mother in her old age, unhappy children in their tender years, and a wife in bitterness. Many men he helped by his wisdom. Weep for the man who has left the most august and his city, and the haunts and friendship of men.

Demas about 38 years old. In the 54th year, Hathyr 3.

You too Alexander, friend of all, without reproach, excellent one, farewell.

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C.C. Edgar, 'Tomb-stones from Tell el Yahoudieh' *ASAE* 19 (1920), p.217 no.1 (from the stone); H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), pp.280-1 no.1, supplemented by G. Klaffenbach in *KS* i (1958), p.437; *SB* iii (1926), p.25 no.6160; W. Peek, 'Zu griechischen Epigrammen aus Aegypten', *Hermes* 66 (1931), pp.319-20; A. Wilhelm, 'Ärzte und Ärztinnen in Pontos, Lykien und Ägypten', *JÖAI* 27 (1932), Beiblatt cols.89-92; *SEG* viii (1937), p.82 no.483; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.404-6 no.1490 (photograph); W. Peek, *GV* (1955), p.179 no.700 (from the stone); *CPJ* iii (1964), pp.152-3 no.1490; E. Bernand *IM* (1969), pp.89-92 no.14 and pl.XIX (photograph; from the stone).

W. Peek, 'Nachträgliches zu den Epigrammen aus Aegypten', *Hermes* 67, (1932), p.131; G. Zuntz, Review of *CPJ* iii, *JSS* 10 (1965), p.291; A. Bernand, *Alexandrie la Grande* (1966), p.163; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; U. Fischer, *Eschatologie und Jenseitserwartung* (1978), p.238; A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (1985), p.123 n.53; p.127 n.68; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.100; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 nn.36, 40; p.680 n.57.

This is one of twenty-two inscribed stones obtained from the inhabitants of villages near the site of the cemetery near Tell el-Yehoudieh by Tewfik Effendi Boulos (Edgar, *ASAE* 19, pp.216-7; cf. nos.31 and 67). It was entered in the reception-book of the Cairo Museum on 10th November 1918, but is inventoried in the Alexandria Museum no.21819 (Edgar, *ibid.*; E. Bernand, p.89).

The stone is broken on the right-hand side. A six-line epitaph in elegiac couplets, arranged so that the lines of lettering are the same as the metrical lines, is followed by marks, legible as the beginning of the same epitaph, and representing a first attempt at the inscription, given up by the stone-cutter (Peek, followed by E. Bernand, pp.90-1). Below these marks are two mutilated lines giving Demas's age and date of death, in prose. Well below these lines, at the bottom of the stele, are three lines addressing Alexander, in prose. Their large, irregular letters contrast with the regularity of the six-line epitaph, and content combines with form to show that they are a later addition (Edgar, p.217; E. Bernand, p.92).

The date corresponds to 22nd November in the 54th year; the only reign of sufficient length is that of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, reckoned from 170, the beginning of his joint rule with Ptolemy VI Philometor and Cleopatra II,

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and giving the year of Demas's death as 117. The date is therefore close to that of the proseuche inscriptions of Xenephyris and Nitriai, and probably also to that of the proclamation of asylum for an unidentified proseuche (nos.24, 25 and 125). This is a much earlier date than those to which other Tell el-Yehoudieh inscriptions are commonly assigned, and underlines the possibility that a number may be Ptolemaic rather than Roman (cf. Lietzmann, p.438).

1 'The shelter of stone' is perhaps the tomb-stone (*LSJ*, s. σπίλας; Lewis); but σπίλας is used of rock by land and sea in epigrams (e.g., among texts cited by Wilhelm, *A.P.* vi 217,2; 223,4; vii 275,2; 287,2; 382,4), and the sense of covering associated with μέλαθρον suggests, rather, the rock from which the tomb was cut (cf. *A.P.* vii 1,4 (Alcaeus of Messene), 'they laid the corpse [of Homer] beneath the coastal rock', ἀκταίη ... ὑπὸ σπιλάδι, probably followed *ibid.* 2,3 (Antipater of Sidon) ἔδ' ἔλαχον νασίης Ἴον σπλάς 'I, the island-rock of Ios, received [Homer]' (Gow & Page, *Hellenistic epigrams*, ii, p.17)). E. Bernand translates 'cette demeure de pierre' and refers the phrase to the tomb, without deciding between tomb-stone and rock. The conjectural restorations at the end of l.1 give conventional epithets ('speechless', Lietzmann; 'untimely dead', Peek) or a suggested profession ('physician', Wilhelm; see on l.4, below).

2 Demas is attested as a name used by Jews in an Edfu ostrakon of A.D.72 (cited with two occurrences in other ostraca by Rokeah, *CPJ* iii, p.172, s.v.) and at Teucheira (*CJZC* app.19d). Demas in Col. iv 14 (also Philemon 24, II Tim. iv 10) is often held to be a non-Jew, on the basis of the contrast in Col. iv 11-12 between those 'from the circumcision' and Epaphras 'from you'; but the additional message of greeting in Col. iv 14 lacks the continuity with verse 12 which would make this implication clear, and Demas may be a name used by a Jew there too.

4 σοφ[ίαι], by 'wisdom' or 'skill'; Edgar printed σο[, noting 'or possibly συν[']; W. Crönert (*SEG* viii 438) restored συν[έσαι] 'by understanding', adopted in *CPJ*; Wilhelm restored σοφ[ίαι] or σοφ[ίαις]. On a fresh inspection of the stone E. Bernand, p.90, says that after the *sigma* it seems possible to distinguish two round letters, the second of which seems to be crossed by a vertical hasta. 'Wisdom' after 'help' suggests something more definite than general (Jewish and Greek) culture, the probable meaning in the metrical epitaph Beth She'arim 127, l.2 πάσης σοφίης δρεψάμενος κ[αρπὸν] (third-fourth cent. A.D.; σοφία discussed by Schwabe & Lifshitz, ii, 46-8).

Wilhelm inferred that Demas was a doctor, and restored the end of l.1 accordingly. The strongest support for this suggestion seems to come from

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'help', l.4, βοιθός = βοηθός, which has a broad range of meanings but is sometimes used to describe doctors (so in Plutarch, *Alex.* xix 2, a physician is βοηθῶν even though his colleagues fear βοηθήσειν, to give remedies, thinking the danger of Alexander's sickness to be stronger than any βοηθεία, remedy).

σοφία can however denote the characteristic skills of many arts and crafts (sculpture and navigation are among those illustrated by F. Hiller von Gaertringen, 'Ein attisches Epigramm aus dem Perserschutte', *Hermes* 54 (1919), pp.329-32 (330-2), cited by Wilhelm). Similar uses of σοφία in Jewish literature, reflecting the comparable range of חכמה in Hebrew, appear in the Greek version of Ecclesiasticus, made in Egypt probably after 132 B.C. and not long before the date of this epitaph, at xxxviii 24 - xxxix 11, on σοφία γραμματέως (xxxviii 24, xxxix 6,10); the scribe's 'wisdom' is distinguished from that of various craftsmen (each of whom σοφίζεται in his work, Ecclus xxxviii 31) because the scribe is a valued councillor (as implied in xxxviii 33). (Here the physician shows not σοφία, but ἐπιστήμη, Hebrew רע, בינה, Ecclus xxxviii 3 & 6; but at xxxviii 2, Hebrew רופא יחכם, did σοφίζεται or σοφισθῆσεται later stand originally for LXX ἐστὶν ἰατρός ?).

This epitaph might therefore also suit other professions including that of a magistrate, suggested by E. Bernand (on l.4, comparing no.39 below, on the magistrate Abramos who showed σοφία, l.6; cf. also no.114, where ll.7-9 suggest a councillor). That βοιθός also would fit a magistrate (and other occupations) as well as a doctor is shown by its regular application to influential persons, notably a king or official in formulae of petition (Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s.v.); Ptolemy IV Philopator, for instance, is called the common benefactor and βοηθός in a request for his βοηθεία (*P.Magd.* 21, in O. Guéraud, *ENTEYΞΕΙΣ* (Cairo, 1931), p.173 no.70, ll.13-14). Similarly, a passive participle of βοηθῶ is applied to himself by a petitioner, or can be used to denote the client of an attorney (Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. βοηθῶ). Comparably, at I Clem. xxxvi 1 (we find Christ) τὸν προστάτην καὶ βοηθὸν τῆς ἀσθενείας ἡμῶν 'the patron and helper of our weakness', βοηθός is linked with προστάτης, 'patron' or 'protector', a word which was sometimes an official title (cf. nos.18, 20 and 24, above); the 'weakness' seems to refer to position rather than health. 'Help' as well as 'wisdom', therefore, can naturally be attributed to a communal official. The well-attested petitionary usage of βοηθός in the papyri strengthens the case for envisaging Demas as someone in a position to exercise influence, whether as magistrate, pleader or *grammateus*. Further evidence would be needed to raise the view that Demas was a physician above the level of a possibility.

5 'Weep', as often in Leontopolis epitaphs; see no.34, below. σεμνότατον,

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'most reverend', is the superlative of an epithet often applied in epitaphs to a widow or mother (Lietzmann, *KS*, i, p.438, citing examples), and also to the light of the sun (Peek, quoting the epigram *IG* xiv 1449, in E. Bernand, p.90). The proposals for restoration of the following word(s) gathered by E. Bernand, p.90, do not include strong suggestions on these lines; Lietzmann proposed $\sigma\mu\nu\acute{o}\tau\alpha\{\tau\omicron\nu\ \beta\acute{i}\delta\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\}$ 'the most reverend manner of life' as a second-best (it would presumably mean the Jewish way of life, like $\beta\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma$ and $\beta\iota\omega\tau\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu$ in *Ecclus*, Prologue 14 & 36). Another possibility, that the missing noun has some connection with l.6 $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\nu$, has evoked $\sigma\mu\nu\acute{o}\tau\alpha\{\tau\omicron\nu\ \pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\tau\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\ ?\}$ 'the most reverend corporation' (Wilhelm) and $\sigma\epsilon\mu\nu\acute{o}\tau\alpha\{\tau\eta\varsigma\ \xi\delta\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\eta\varsigma\}$, 'seat of the most reverend magistracy' (Crönert). $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\tau\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ is used for a Jewish corporation with reference to Alexandria (Letter of Aristeas 310) and Berenice (two inscriptions, *CJZC* 70 & 71) (Schürer revised iii.i, pp.88-9). Since Wilhelm, it has been urged, on the basis of no.39, ll.5-8, below (where $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\tau\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ itself is not used), that the Jews of Leontopolis and perhaps also of neighbouring settlements used this title for their civil organisation (L. Robert, 'Épigramme d'Égypte' in *Hellenica* i (1940), pp.18-24 (p.23 n.1 gives Wilhelm's conjecture here without further comment), followed by Kasher, *Egypt*, pp.126-30). The term can denote either a citizen body as a whole, as at II Macc. xii 7 (the inhabitants of Joppa), or a corporation of people of a nationality other than that of the main body of inhabitants, with a measure of independent existence alongside the city; the second meaning suits the three express references to a Jewish $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\tau\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ noted above (Smallwood, *Roman rule*, pp.225-6; on the question whether Alexandrian Jews so incorporated also sought citizenship of the Greek $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\varsigma$, as descriptions of Jews as $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\tau\alpha\iota$, 'citizens' (e.g. Philo, *Flacc.* 47) might suggest (cf. no.114 l.8 below, with comment), see Smallwood, *Roman rule* pp.228-30 and Kasher, *Egypt*, pp.233-326, 356-7, with the review of Kasher by M.D. Goodman, *JJS* 32 (1981), pp.207-8). It remains uncertain whether the term was actually used by the Jews of Leontopolis to describe their organisation, although the evidence for Jewish aspirations in Philo and Josephus would in general favour such a possibility. Even apart from this question, however, the semantic ranges of $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\tau\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ and $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\varsigma$ overlap so considerably that the sequence of the two might seem awkward; and it would clearly be pleonastic if the 'city' were itself Jewish, as is highly probable here. On this ground, $\sigma\epsilon\mu\nu\acute{o}\tau\alpha\{\tau\eta\varsigma\ \xi\delta\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\eta\varsigma\}$ would be preferable; cf. no.39, ll.5-8, below, for reference in an epitaph to a Jewish magistracy. None of these suggested restorations seems strong enough to be called probable.

6 'City' is probably conventional (see no.114, l.7), but is not unsuited to

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the 'small city' (πολίχνη) founded by Onias (Josephus, *B.J.* i 33).

8 Alexander, perhaps a descendant of Demas and a contemporary of the Jewish king Alexander Jannaeus (reigned 103-76) (Peek); seven further Jewish bearers of the name Alexander in Egypt are noted by Rokeah, *CPJ* iii, pp.168-9. ἀνεγκλήτος 'without reproach' appears in a non-Jewish epitaph, E. Bernand, *IM*, no.96 (Memphis, lettering ascribed to later Roman period) l.3 (cf. Peek, *GV* no.108 = *IG* ii/iii² 5501 (Attica, 4th century B.C.) ἀνεγκλήτως βιοτεύσας); in the papyri, of blamelessness claimed in disputes (Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s.v.); of Jews as loyal subjects, III Macc. v 31, and of Christians as subjects of Christ, Col. i 22, I Cor. i 8; a personal name in the first-century Roman Christian community, according to Irenaeus, *Haer.* iii 3.3 and Eusebius, *H.E.* iii 13; of the virtue expected in a communal officer, I Tim. iii 10, Titus i 6-7.

Limestone stele with right-hand side damaged, 42 x 25 cm., undecorated. Letter forms: main text A E C Ω; addition A E C.

31 (CIJ ii no.1508): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): mid-2nd century B.C. – early 2nd century A.D. Stele; epitaph; metrical.

Cairo Museum.

Text follows E. Bernand, *IM* no.84, p.333.

τῆν τὸ πρὶν ἐν μ[εγά]λοις ἀγαλλ ομένην μελά[θ]ροισι	
παρθ[έ]νο ν ἀκμαίην, ξεῖνε, δάκρυσον ἐμέ·	
ν[υ]μφοκόμοις στολίδεσαι σύνοικος [έ]δ[ν] γὰρ ἄωρος	
νυμφ[ῶν]ος στυ γερ[οῦ] τοῦδε λ[έ]λογχ[α] τ[άφ]ου.	
ἦν ίκα [δῆ?] κώ[μ]ων πάταγο[ς] πρ[ὸς] ἐμὰ[ς] δ[.....]	5
ἥ[με]λλεν μέλιν πα[τ]ρὸ[ς] ἐμοῦ [μ]έλαιον,	
ὥς ῥό[δ]ο[ν] [έ]ν κήποι [ν]οτίσιν δροσεραῖσι τεθ[η]λός	
[α]φνιδίως με λαβὼ βω)ν ὥχετ' ἰὼν Ἀτ[δῆ]ς·	
ἔκο[σι, ξεῖ] νε, δ' ἐγὼ ἐτέω[ν - -]	
[- - - - -]	10

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Peek's earlier text (1932, from a transcript made after cleaning of the stone) was reproduced in *CIJ* in majuscules and minuscules, together with that of Wilhelm (1937) in minuscules; Peek's revised text (1955) was followed in *CPJ*. References in the apparatus here to *CIJ* are to Wilhelm's text only.

μ[εγά]λοισιν (1.1): *CIJ* [Κ]λ[ε]ιτοῖσιν

σύνοικος | [ἐ]δ[ν] (1.3): *CIJ* σύνοικος ἐ(δ)ν, *CPJ* σὺν εὐκόσ|μοις

[δῆ] κτλ. (1.5): *CIJ* γὰρ κρ[οτάλ]ων πάταγος πρὸς (οὐ)ας δ[ον]έεσκε, *CPJ* γὰρ κώμων πάταγος πρὸς ἐμοῖ|ς δ[ικ]αίσι' [ἡ]δῆ

1.6: *CIJ* ἡ[γγει]λέν μέλπιν πᾶ[σιν] ἐμὸν θάν[ατον], *CPJ* ἡ[γγει]λέν με λ(ι)πῖν | πατ[ρ]δ[ς] ἐμοῦ [μ]έλαθρ[ο]ν

ᾧχετ' ἰδὼν (1.8): *CPJ* ᾧχε[τ'] ἰδὼν

ἐτέω[ν - -] (1.9): *CPJ* ἐτέω[ν κύκλους τελέσσασα]

Weep for me, stranger, a maiden ripe for marriage, who formerly shone in a great house. For, together with my bridal garments, I, untimely, have received this hateful tomb as my bridal chamber. For when the noise of revellers at my was going to make my father's house resound, suddenly Hades came and snatched me away, like a rose in a garden nurtured by fresh rain. And I, stranger, who twenty years

C.C. Edgar, 'Tomb-stones from Tell el Yahoudieh', *ASAE* 19 (1920), p.223-4 no.19 (from the stone); H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), p.282 no.19, supplemented by G. Klaffenbach in *KS* i (1958), p.440; *SB* iii (1926), p.26 no.6178; W. Peek, 'Zu griechischen Epigrammen aus Aegypten', *Hermes* 66 (1931), pp.320-1 (from the stone); W. Peek, 'Nachträgliches zu den Epigrammen aus Ägypten', *Hermes* 67 (1932) p.131; A. Wilhelm, 'Drei griechische Epigramme aus Aegypten', *Mélanges Maspero* ii (1937), pp.265-276; *SEG* viii (1937), pp.82-3 no.484; J. & L. Robert, *BE* (1938), p.478 no.546; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.416-9 no.1508; W. Peek, *GV* (1955), p.365 no.1238 (from the stone); *CPJ* iii (1964), p.156 no.1508; E. Bernand, *IM* (1969), pp.332-340 no.84, pl.xxiv (photographs; from the stone).

A. Wilhelm, 'Ein Grabgedicht aus Athen', *Mélanges Bidez* (1934), pp.1013-14; G. Zuntz, Review of *CPJ* iii, *JSS* 10 (1965), pp.292-3; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.274 n.1; U. Fischer, *Eschatologie und*

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Jenseitserwartung (1978), p.238; A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (1985), p.127 n.67; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.95 no.60, p.100, p.113 no.356; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW II.20.2* (1987), p.678 nn.40, 43, p.680 n.57, p.685 n.88.

This stele was among the stones obtained from villagers near the site of Tell el-Yehoudieh by Tewfik Effendi Boulos (see nos.30, 67). A transverse break runs from the beginning of the fifth line of text ([ἐ]δ[ν]) downwards to the end of the tenth line (δοσεραῖσι). 'Down to the sixth line of the stone the reading is fairly certain; after that point the restoration becomes difficult; and the last few lines are completely obliterated' (Edgar, p.223). The surviving text, in which further letters have become effaced since Edgar's copy, occupies two-thirds of the available field; damage to the stone makes it hardly possible to judge how far down the inscription originally extended, and it may not have filled the entire field (E. Bernand, p.332).

The theme of the bride's death at the time of marriage is treated in a number of epitaphs, for example A.P. vii 712 (Erinna, perhaps 3rd century B.C.), 711 (Antipater of Sidon, 2nd century B.C.), 182 (Meleager, early 1st century B.C.), 186 (Philip), 188 (Thallus, both 1st century A.D.); ix 245 (Antiphanes, 1st century B.C.–A.D.). In Egyptian Jewish literature it recurs at III Macc. iv 6-8, on the arrest and imminent death of newly-wed couples, on the brides, e.g., v.6 ἀκαλύπτως δὲ ἀγόμεναι θρήνον ἀνθ' ὑμεναίων ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐξήρχον. The motifs of lament instead of rejoicing (ll.5-6 here) and of Hades as bridegroom (ll.7-8) are studied, with examples including A.P. vii 711, 188 and 186 by E. Griessmair, *Das Motiv der Mors immatura*, pp.71-5.

Similar links between marriage rites and death are evoked by the theme of the bridegrooms' murder in the myth of the daughters of Danaus, for example in Ovid, *Her.* xiv 9-10. The epitaph requested by Hypermnestra in Horace, *Od.* iii 11, 51-2 could appropriately have used this imagery, although it does not occur in the short inscription which she prescribes in Ovid (*ibid.*, 129-30).

There is no date in the surviving text. On the basis of its association with other Tell el-Yehoudieh epitaphs, many of which come from the reign of Augustus, it is tentatively ascribed to the 1st century A.D. (Peek) or the beginning of the imperial period (Bernand), but at least one of these epitaphs is from the late 2nd century B.C. (no.30, above). An inscription of these pretensions is perhaps less likely to have been made after the suppression of the Jewish revolt in Egypt at the beginning of Hadrian's reign. These

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considerations would permit a date somewhere between the late 2nd century B.C. and the early 2nd century A.D. (up to 117), but nothing more definite. A similar general view of the dating of Tell el-Yehoudieh inscriptions was taken by Lietzmann, *KS*, pp.436-7, and Frey, *CIJ* ii, p.381.

1 μ[εγά]λοιςιν follows Edgar's transcript and restoration, as Peek did in his revised text; Wilhelm here followed Peek's 1931 transcript.

2 ἀκμαίη, 'ripe' or 'in bloom'; of bridegrooms, III Macc. iv 8. See also nos.33 l.4 and 83 l.2, below, with comments. On the injunction to weep, see no.34, below.

3 σύνοικος: 'dwelling together with', i.e. lying in her bridal array in the grave (Lietzmann).

4 With the tomb as bridal-chamber, compare the bridal-chamber as tomb in Ovid, *Her.* xiv 31, 'in thalamos laeti – thalamos, sua busta! – feruntur'.

5 The 'noise' may be made by musical instruments (Wilhelm, cited by E. Bernand, p.338, n.2) but seems more likely to be beating on the doors, cf. *A.P.* vii 182 l.4 θαλάμων ἐπ'αταγεῦντο θύραι, 711 ll.7-8 οὐχὶ θυρέτρων | ἀλλὰ τὸν Αἰδεω ... πάταγον (with comment by Gow & Page, *Hellenistic epigrams*, ii, p.79).

6 μέλιν: infinitive (ι for ε, Mayser, *Grammatik*, i.1, §8.3(b)). The wedding celebrations are turned into mourning, as in the epigrams cited above.

8 The mention of Hades, with a fairly clear allusion to the rape of Proserpina, is more definitely mythological than in the metrical Beth She'arim epitaph (Schwabe & Lifshitz no.127, l.5) ἐλθ[ὼν] εἰς Ἄδην, or no.34, below, l.2 (see note), where it is topographical. Here the Greek theme of Hades as bridegroom is taken up (cf. *A.P.* vii 186, 5-6 Αἰδῶ ... ἐφ' ἀρπαγίμοις τερπόμενος λήξειν); but a Jewish patron could think of partly comparable personifications of Hades in the biblical tradition (Is. v 14 LXX καὶ ἐπλάτυνεν ὁ ἔδης τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ διήνοιξεν τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ, *Wisd.* i 14 ἔδου βασιλεῖον).

Large rectangular pediment-topped stele (dimensions not given) broken in two, with recessed field, denticulated cornice, acroteria. Letter forms: A E C Ω.

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32 (CIJ ii no.1509): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): mid-2nd century B.C.– early 2nd century A.D. (21 B.C.?). Stele; epitaph; metrical. Alexandria Museum.

Text follows E. Bernand, *IM* no.45, p.206-7.

Ὁραίας τάφος οὗτος, ὁδοιπόρε· δά|κρυα λε[ῖβε]
 [...] ΠΛΑΟΥ [θυ]γάτηρ ἡ κα|τὰ πάντι[α αὐτο]χῆς,
 τρεῖς δεκ[ά]δας | πλησασ' ἐτ[έων·] τρεῖς ὥδε π[α]ράρεσμεν, |
 ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ [ἡ θυγά]τηρ καὶ ἡμ[ε]ι[ς] ἐπύρωκαν || ἐγώ.
 [- - - - -] ἐστὶν (τρίτη) | εἰτὰ δ[ὲ] πέμπτῃ 5
 Εἰρήνη θυγάτηρ, | ἥ γάμος οὐκ ἐδόθη,
 κἀγὼ δὴ ἡ ἄκληρος, | ἀνεύφραντος μετὰ τούτους
 ἐβδόμῃ | τοῦ Χοίαχ ὧδ' ἐτέθην ὑπὸ γῆν.
 Ἀλλ' ἀπέ||χεις, ὦ ξεῖνε, σαφῶς τὰ ὅπαντα παρ' ἡ|μῶν·
 ἀγγέλλειν πᾶσιν τοῦ θανάτου τὸ τάχος. 10
 ('Ετους) ι' Χοίαχ ζ'

[...] ΠΛΑΟΥ (l.2): *CIJ* [Κτησ]ιλάου, *CPJ* Ν[ι]κολάου
 αὐτο]χῆς (l.2): *CIJ* [ἀτυχ]ῆς
 ἡμ[ε]ι (l.4): *CIJ* ἡν (*sic*)
 [- - - - -] (l.5): *CIJ* ι[.....]
 κἀγὼ (l.7): *CIJ*, *CPJ* [κ]ἀγὼ
 γῆν (l.8): *CIJ*, *CPJ* [γ]ῆν
 πᾶσιν (l.10): *CIJ* minuscules πασὶ (*sic*, probably by printing error; *CIJ* majuscules ΠΑΣΙΝ)

This is the tomb of Horaia, wayfarer. Shed a tear Daughter oflaos, she was unfortunate in all things, and fulfilled three decades of years. Three of us are here, husband, daughter, and I whom they inflamed with grief. on the third, then on the fifth my daughter Eirene, to whom marriage was not granted, and I then with no portion or joy was laid here after them under the earth on the seventh of Choiak. But stranger, you have clearly all there is to know of us; tell all men of the swiftness of death. In the 10th year, Choiak 7.

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C.C. Edgar, 'More tomb-stones from Tell el Yahoudieh', *ASAE* 22 (1922), pp.8-9 no.20; *SEG* i (1923), p.134 no.569; H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), p.282 no.20 = *KS* i (1958), p.440-1; *SB* iii (1926), pp.76-7 no.6646; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.419-420 no.1509; W. Peek, *GV* (1955), p.158 no.644; *CPJ* iii (1964), pp.156-7 no.1509; E. Bernand, *IM* (1969), pp.206-9 no.45, pl.xxviii, xxix.

A. Wilhelm, *Αγυπτιάκα* (1946), p.1509; G. Zuntz, Review of *CPJ* iii, *JSS* 10 (1965), pp.291-2; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.274 n.1; U. Fischer, *Eschatologie und Jenseitserwartung* (1978), p.238; A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (1985), p.127 n.67; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.96 no.89, p.117 no.501; G.H.R. Horsley, *New documents* iv (1987), pp.225-7; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 n.40, p.680 n.57; J. Méléze-Modrzejewski, *Les juifs d'Égypte* (1991), p.111.

This inscription and the others published with it by Edgar in 1922 (nos.33-37, 84-91) were obtained for the Antiquities Service by Tewfik Effendi Boulos from the houses of villagers near Tell el-Yehoudieh, like the group published by Edgar in 1919 (nos.30-1, 67-83; see no.30).

Edgar ascribed the group published in 1922 as a whole to the Augustan age, but noted that only one (no.84, below) is fully dated. The possible range of dates runs, as with the group published earlier, from the mid-second century B.C. to the Jewish revolt under Trajan in A.D.115-7 (see nos.31, 84). In this case, the tenth year (l.11) could then correspond to pre-Augustan dates including 107 B.C. (Ptolemy IX Soter II (Lathyros) and Cleopatra III), 98 B.C. (Ptolemy X), 71 B.C. (Ptolemy XII (Auletes)) and 42 B.C. (Cleopatra VII).

The inscription occupies a sunk rectangular field in a stele surmounted by a pediment. Many words in ll.2-7 on the stone (1-5 of the text above) are lost through surface damage. The metre flows less easily than in some Leontopolis epitaphs (e.g. nos.30 or 31, above), but is not so harsh or defective as in no.29, above, or no.36, below. The scansion of l.4 requires either synizesis (ὁ ἀνὴρ as a spondee, cf. no.29, l.7, above), or aphaeresis of α in ἀνὴρ (ὁ ᾽νὴρ in *P.Tebt.* 396.5 of A.D.188, noted by Gignac, *Grammar*, i, p.321, ὁ being long as in no.34 below, l.1), and then crasis with καὶ twice (commonly found, see Thackeray, *Grammar*, §9,11); in ll.7 & 9 there is hiatus (δὴ ἦ, τὰ ἅπαντα), no doubt reflecting the tendency to treat words in isolation, at least in orthography, but avoided by the more elegant

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(Thackeray, *Grammar*, §9,10 & 12); and in 1.8 ἐβδμῃ is a dactyl, reflecting the interchange between η and ε (Thackeray, *Grammar*, §6,14; Gignac, *Grammar*, i, p.324).

1 Ὠραία: 'Beautiful', widely current as a woman's name (eight instances in Fraser & Matthews including two from Cyprus; 17 in Solin, *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom* (Berlin, 1982)), is otherwise attested as a Jewish name in Egypt only in the masculine form, in ostraca of 153 B.C. from Thebes (CPJ nos.91.3, 92.3); a presumably non-Jewish feminine occurrence, in a first or second century A.D. dedication to Leto by Ἰσιδώρα ἡ καὶ Ὠραία at Medamūd (SEG vii 702 = SB 8198), was noted by E. Bernand, p.208 n.1. In Jewish use outside Egypt, Ὠραία occurs on an ossuary from the Kidron valley (SEG xx 488; the only instance in the corpus of women known by name in Ilan, 'Notes on the distribution of Jewish women's names'); and a gate of the Jerusalem temple was called Ὠραία (Acts iii 2, probably referring to Nicanor's gate of Corinthian bronze on the western side of the Court of the Women [see no.153, below], but the name 'Beautiful' for a gate of Herod's temple is not found elsewhere). The Greek adjective describes Rebekah, Rachel and Joseph in the LXX Pentateuch (Gen. xxvi 7, xxix 17, xxxix 6), the Shulamite in the Song of Songs (vi 3 (5)), and Judith (Judith viii 7). In Egypt the name possibly also recalled the divine name Horus, for a tradition that Troezen was called Oraia after the ancient king Oros is recorded by Pausanias, ii 30.5 (with his own view that the name Oros sounds Egyptian); but in any case for Jews it could be linked with biblical heroines. On the injunction to weep, see no.34, below.

2. Three or at most four letters are lost at the beginning, and in the letter before λ a vertical stroke surmounted by a short horizontal stroke can be made out, excluding a round letter like ο, and suggesting τ or π rather than ι (E. Bernand). On this basis, Peek's conjecture Ν[ι]κολαου is excluded, but restoration of a name to suit the metre is difficult. Edgar's conjecture [Κησ]ιλίου is closer to Bernand's reading but is unattested as a Jewish name in Egypt. The partly lost name, however, may not have fitted the metre exactly; many of the Tell el-Yehoudieh verse epitaphs, like this one, are metrically harsh (see above). ἡ ... ἀτυχής: this phrase is also used in no.33, 1.2.

4. [π]επρώκαν: περὶ occurs also in nos.37 and 83. The meaning is unclear in all three places. Here, the literal sense, 'they have burned' (on a pyre) was adopted by H. Lietzmann (KS, p.440 on no.83), followed by H. Großmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder zum Alten Testament* (2nd ed., Berlin/Leipzig, 1926-7), ii p.68 (cremation by Romanizing Jews); K. Galling,

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'Bestattung (in der Bibel)', *EJ* iv, p.372; *LSJ*, s. πυρώ (quoting, for this meaning, this inscription as *SEG* i 569, together with *A.P.* vii 466); and F. Lang, s. πῶρ etc., *TWNT* vi (1959), p.948. G. Zuntz, reviewing *CPJ* iii in *JSS* 10 (1965), pp.291-2, argues that this meaning is at least possible in all three places. For the strength of the custom of cremation among Greeks in Egypt, see the epitaph *A.P.* vii 162 (by Dioscorides, who flourished, probably in Alexandria, in the later part of the third century B.C.), in which a Persian slave, Euphrates, is envisaged as particularly asking for burial, not cremation, Εὐφράτην μὴ καῖε (Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, i, p.604; ii, p.855, n.379). On the other hand, a figurative sense, signifying 'extreme sorrow', with comparison of II Cor. xi 29, was suggested for all three Jewish epitaphs by Edgar, *ASAE* 22 (1922), pp.7-8, followed by Frey on no.83, Lewis in *CPJ* iii at each occurrence, and E. Bernand on this passage.

Against the literal sense, in general, is post-exilic and later Jewish dislike of cremation (for surveys, see M. Schloessinger & R. Gottheil, 'Cremation', *JE* iv (1903), pp.342-4; L. Koep, 'Bestattung', *RAC* ii (1954), cols.198-200). Thus (i) on the funeral rites of Saul and his sons, contrast I Sam. xxxi 11-13 (burning of bodies and ossilegium) with the post-exilic I Chron. x 12 (ossilegium only), Josephus, *Ant.* vi 377 (burial of the bodies) and Targ. I Sam. xxxi 12 (burning of *spices*); (ii) with Amos vi 10 MT 'a man's kinsman, he who burns him, shall take him up', contrast LXX 'his servants will try to carry him out' and Targum 'he shall take him *from* the fire'; (iii) Tacitus, *Hist.* v 5 thinks it Jewish custom 'corpora condere quam cremare e more Aegyptio' (cf. Tobit i 17-19, ii 3-9, xii 12-13 on the pious *burial* of corpses); and Poppaea Sabina, who inclined to Judaism (M.H. Williams, 'Θεοσεβής γὰρ ἦν - the Jewish tendencies of Poppaea Sabina', *JTS* n.s. 39 (1988), pp.97-111) was embalmed, not cremated (Tacitus, *Ann.* xvi 6); (iv) Christian dislike of cremation, mocked by the pagan spokesman and defended by the Christian in Minucius Felix, probably reproduces a Jewish attitude ('et execrantur rogos et damnant ignium sepulturas', ... 'veterem et meliorem consuetudinem humandi frequentamus', Minucius Felix, *Oct.* viii 4, xxxiv 10). Note that the widespread attestation of this Jewish attitude includes literature current in Greek (LXX Amos, Tobit; Josephus).

Yet, Jews did not necessarily find non-Jewish funerary rites repugnant. Thus (i) Jewish ossuary burial closely resembled pagan burial of cremated remains in urns or caskets, and pyres of goods or clothing on the non-Jewish pattern could be envisaged at grand funerals like that of Gamaliel II (b A.Z. 11a); (ii) Jews were not always buried in separate cemeteries, but sometimes, as in Alexandria (El-Ibrahimiya and Hadra, see nos.3-10, above), together

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with non-Jews; (iii) an enigmatic Mishnaic passage, sometimes referred to deaths in fires, presupposes Jewish handling of 'the ashes of those who have been burned' (Oholoth ii 2); (iv) in the late Midrash Wayosha, Isaac, thinking himself about to be burnt, asks his father to take his ashes, so that Sarah may keep them in a casket in her room (Ad. Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash*, i (3rd ed., Jerusalem, 1967), p.37). Further, just as hopes for resurrection and immortality were prevalent but not universal among Jews at the end of the Ptolemaic period, so (without assuming close correlation between custom and conviction) it would be reasonable to envisage occasional exceptions to a general custom of inhumation before ossilegium.

Against this background, note (i) LXX I Kingdoms (I Sam.) xxxi 11-13 very clearly describe cremation as well as ossilegium, in contrast with I Chronicles, Josephus and the Targum; any dislike has not been strong enough to affect the fidelity of the rendering, and translators or readers may even have welcomed the parallel with Homeric custom (e.g. *Iliad* xxiii 250-4, cremation and ossilegium of Patroclus); (ii) the Greek Ecclesiasticus xxxviii 16, on funerary duties, mentions the wrapping of the corpse (a Greek as well as Jewish custom, e.g. *Od.* xxiv 293, before *prothesis*), but does not specify inhumation. Greek texts read by Jews in Egypt therefore indicate the propriety of allowing in general for occasional exceptions to the rule of inhumation.

Yet, this particular case is probably not an exception. (i) Inhumation is attested in the Tell el-Yehoudieh finds (Naville, *Mound*, p.13), and the epitaphs concerned come from what is likely to be a Jewish cemetery. (ii) Names in Tell el-Yehoudieh epitaphs betray some Egyptian influence (e.g. no.94, below), and therewith the presence of another tradition opposed to cremation. (iii) More particularly, here the subject of 'they burned' in the literal sense cannot be the husband and daughter just mentioned, for they died before Horaia (II.5-8); 'they' would therefore have to be impersonal, and the epitaph would be debited with a somewhat clumsy alteration of subject (E. Bernand). (iv) *καίω* is not common of cremation (note the use of *καίω* in *A.P.* vii 162, quoted above), although found in this sense in Aeschylus, *Ag.* 440, Euripides, *I.T.* 685, and the metrical epitaph by Leonidas of Tarentum (*A.P.* vii 466, l.2, cited above; see Gow & Page, *Hellenistic epigrams*, ii, p.375, on Leonidas's poem). To judge by the Palatine Anthology, the verb is more often used metaphorically, especially of the fire of love. It is also found of indignation (e.g. II Macc. iv 38), as shown by Zuntz, p.291. Here and in nos.37 and 83 the context shows that grief is primarily in view, but love is of course implied at the same time. Compare III Macc. iv 2, τοῖς δὲ Ἰουδαίοις

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ἄληκτον πένθος ἦν καὶ πανδύρτος μετὰ δακρύων βοή στεναγμοῖς πεπυρωμένης πάντοθεν αὐτῶν τῆς καρδίας (indignation [Zuntz, p.291] but also grief, which is very strongly stressed in the context; this is also the case, with greater emphasis on indignation, in II Macc. iv 37-8).

5. The lost beginning of the line will have included the statement that the husband died, and he will probably also have been named, as his wife and daughter are.

6. Εἰρήνη: for the name, see no.67. On the theme of death before marriage, see Griessmair, *Mors immatura*, 63-5, and compare no.35, below.

7. ἀκληρος: without portion, lot, or place; cf. *Od.* xi 490, stressing desolation without allusion to such hopes as are expressed on the basis of the biblical usage of κλήρος in Dan. xii 13 Θεοδότην καὶ ἀναστήσῃ εἰς τὸν κληρὸν σου εἰς συντέλειαν ἡμερῶν.

Pediment-topped rectangular stele, 51 x 35 cm., with recessed field. Letter forms: A/A Ε/Ε Ι C/Σ Ω/Ω.

33 (CIJ ii no.1510): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): mid-2nd–1st century B.C. Stele; epitaph; metrical.

Cairo Museum.

Text follows E. Bernand, *IM* no.42, p.196.

Ἀρσινόης τάφος οὗτος, ὁδοιπόρε· κλαῦσον ἐπιστὰ ς	
τὴν κατὰ πάντα ἀτυχῆν, δ ύσμορον, αἰνόμορον.	
ὀρφανικὴ λεί φθην γὰρ ἐγὼ μεικρά περ ἐοῦσα	
μητρὸς· ἐπεὶ δέ μ' ἀκμῆς ἄνθος ἐν υμφοκόμει,	
ἔξευξέν με Φαβεῖτι πα τήρ, ὠδεῖνι δὲ Μοῖρα	5
πρωτοτόκου με τέκνου πρὸς τέλος ἦγε βίου.	
καὶ μεικρὸν μὲν ἐγὼ τ' ἔλαχον κύκ λον, ἀλλὰ χάρις μοι	
πλείστη ἐπέν θησεν καλλοσύνηι πραπίδων·	
κα ὶ τάφος ἐν κόλποις κρύπτει τὸ ἐμὸν δέμας οὗτος	
ἀγνοτρα φές, ψυχὴ δ' εἰς δόσιους ἔπετε.	10
Ἀρσινόης ἐπικήδειος· (ἔτους) κε' Μεχεῖρ β'.	

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Ἐρετε (l.7): *CPJ* ἔ(τ)ᾠ(ν), following Wilhelm

Ἐρετε (l.10): *CIJ* minuscules ἔρετε

This is the grave of Arsinoe, wayfarer. Stand near and weep for her, unfortunate in all things, whose fate was adverse and terrible. For I was bereaved of my mother when I was a little girl; and when the flower of youth dressed me as a bride, my father joined me in marriage with Phabeis, and Fate led me to the end of life in the travail-pain of my first-born child. My allotted span was small, but great charm bloomed upon the beauty of my spirit. Now this grave hides in its bosom my chastely-nurtured body, but my soul has flown to the holy ones. A lament for Arsinoe. In the 25th year, Mecheir 2.

C.C. Edgar, 'More tomb-stones from Tell el Yahoudieh', *ASAE* 22 (1922), pp.9-10 no.21 (from the stone); *SEG* i (1923), p.134 no.570; H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), p.283 no.21 = *KS* i (1958), p.441; *SB* iii (1926), p.77 no.6647; J.B. Frey, 'La signification du terme πρωτότοκος', *Biblica* 11 (1930), pp.373-390; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.420-2 no.1510; W. Peek, *GV* (1955), p.165 no.643; E. Gabba, *Iscrizioni greche e latine* (1958), p.42-4 no.xiv; J. & L. Robert, *BE* (1959), p.1 no.3; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.157 no.1510; *SEG* xx (1964), p.158 no.640; E. Bernand, *IM* (1969), pp.196-9 no.42, pl.xxvi & xxvii (photographs; from the stone).

Notice of Edgar, 'More tomb-stones', in *RB* 32 (1923), pp.154-5; A. Wilhelm, 'Drei griechische Epigramme aus Aegypten', *Mélanges Maspero* ii (1937), p.276; G. Zuntz, Review of *CPJ* iii, *JSS* 10 (1965), p.292; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; M. Stern, 'The reign of Herod and the Herodian dynasty', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.274; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.275; U. Fischer, *Eschatologie und Jenseitserwartung* (1978), pp.220, 238, 240-1; H.C.C. Cavallin, 'Leben nach dem Tode im Spätjudentum', *ANRW* II.19.1 (1979), p.322 n.583; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.100, p.111 no.297; G.H.R. Horsley, *New documents* iv (1987), p.224; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 n.40, p.680 n.57, p.685 n.86, p.703 n.214; J. Mélèze-Modrzejewski, *Les juifs d'Égypte* (1991), pp.108-9.

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This epitaph on Arsinoe, who died in child-birth, is almost certainly Jewish, despite its lack of specifically Jewish content; for (like no.32) it is one of a second group of inscriptions obtained by Tewfik Effendi Boulos from the houses of villagers near Tell el-Yehoudieh (Edgar, 'More tomb-stones', 7), and both the stone and the epitaph resemble those of assuredly Jewish monuments from Leontopolis. The name Arsinoe occurs also in the Leontopolis epitaph no.38, below. On the probable assumption that the inscription is from the colony founded by Onias under Ptolemy VI Philometor, reigns to which 'the 25th year' (l.11) might refer are those of Philometor himself (156 B.C.), Ptolemy VIII Evergetes II (Physcon) (120 B.C.), Ptolemy XII Auletes (56 B.C.) and Augustus (5 B.C.). For other Egyptian Jewish epitaphs recording death in child-birth, see no.106, below. The first distich seems to be addressed by the stele to the wayfarer, and then the departed herself speaks, as in no.36, below.

1-2 overlap extensively in phrasing with no.32, ll.1-2. Jewish use of the name 'Arsinoe' (l.1) probably derives ultimately from the popularity of the deified Arsinoe II (died 270; see Fraser, *Alexandria*, i, 216-8); the name was used even in the nationalistically-inclined Egyptian priestly community in the second and first centuries B.C. (Thompson, *Memphis*, 132-3, n.124). For expressions of Jewish communal loyalty to the Ptolemies, see also the name Ptolemaios (Names Index) and the proseuche dedications for the royal family (Formulae Index). On the injunction to weep, see no.34, below.

2 ἀτυχῆν has the Hellenistic acc. fem. sing. ending -ῆν for Attic -ῆ in the third declension, a form found in the LXX (eg. Eccles xiii 17 BN; Thackeray, *Grammar*, §12,5) and the NT (e.g. Heb. vi 19; Blass, Debrunner & Funk, §46(1)).

3 μικρά, cf. 5 ὠδεῖν: εἰ = 1, see on no.114, l.7.

4 ἀκμή is here linked with marriage, as often (like ἀκμαῖος, no.31 (l.2)) but not always (see comment on no.83 (l.2)); for the link, compare Eccles xlii 9 LXX (father concerned for daughter μήποτε παρακμάσῃ lest she pass her prime [without being married]), IV Macc. xviii 9 (mother of seven martyrs remained χρόνον ἀκμῆς with her husband), and for the phrase used here, Philo *Somn.* i 199 (sheep and goats mounted in Jacob's dream (Gen. xxxi 10) represent souls still young and tender, just fresh and well favoured ἄνθει τῇ τῆς ἀκμῆς 'in the flower of their prime'); on ἄνθος in several occurrences in epitaphs see Lattimore, *Themes*, 195-7 (not quoting this phrase), 293 (a flower symbolizes ἀκμή). ἐνυμφόκομαι: this rare verb, intransitive in Euripides, *Med.* 985, is transitive as here in the probably first-century A.D. epigrammatist Antiphrilos (Planudean Anthology 147 = Gow & Page, *Philip*,

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xlix, 1.6; their comment *ibid.* ii, p.143 discusses the examples, including this epitaph). The cognate adjective describes bridal array, cf. no.31 (1.3).

5 Phabeis (see Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, s.v.), one of a number of Egyptian names in Demerdash and Tell el-Yehoudieh inscriptions (see e.g. nos.34, 66, 114) may indicate an Egyptian-Jewish or a wholly Egyptian husband; J. Schwartz, 'La communauté d'Edfou', in R. Kuntzmann & J. Schlosser (ed.), *Études sur le judaïsme hellénistique* (Paris, 1984), pp.65-6, dealing with Egyptian names borne by Jews in Edfu ostraca of the first-second centuries A.D., finds the offspring of a mixed marriage in cases where the father has a Jewish name. The spelling ὠδεῖνι reflects the interchange of (long) ι and ει (Thackeray, *Grammar*, §6,24-5; Mayser, *Grammatik*, i.1, §9.2(a); Gignac, *Grammar*, i, p.190, section b; cf. 1.3, above, and no.40 1.7, below).

5 *Moirā* here represents a commonplace of epitaphs (Lattimore, *Themes*, 150-1), but the relatively impersonal singular allows interpretation in line with biblical thought, if wanted; in Homer Fate as the bringer of death can be associated with divine agency (e.g. *Iliad* xix 410-1 θεός τε μέγας καὶ Μοῖρα κραταίῃ), and in Jewish writing the latter is stressed at Sib. iii 502, (by implication) 513. But in the epitaph literary considerations are probably to the fore, as in the metrical Beth She'arim epitaph 129 (1.6 ἐπὶ ἥθελε Μοῖρα κραταίῃ).

6 'First-born': for the word (proparoxytone) in this sense, as opposed to 'bearing her first-born' (paroxytone), see Gen. xlix 3 and elsewhere in the LXX (where the word is much preferred to πρωτόγονος, used at Ezek.Trag. 148, 150) and, in epigram, the anonymous A.P. ix 213 ('there is no clue to the date', D.L. Page, *Further Greek epigrams*, 351, on no.xliv).

7-8 πλείστη...καλλοσύνη. The translation above makes the noun dative, giving value to its final *iota*; but false *iotas* occur in 11.3-4, 7. Hence Edgar, 'More tomb-stones', 10, followed here as in *CPJ* took πλείστη as nominative qualifying χάρις, 'great grace' ('grace of body blossomed over beauty of mind', Edgar). Frey, followed by E. Bernand, accepted Edgar's construal of πλείστη, but understood χάρις as 'favour', and took καλλοσύνη too as nominative, in apposition with χάρις, giving the sense 'but a great favour I had: the beauty of my spirit blossomed'. (Arsinoe would be seen as deprived by death of physical beauty, but not of 'celle impérissable de l'âme'.) This interpretation, however, requires an awkward pause after πλείστη; and it seems better to take χάρις, with Edgar and *CPJ*, as a quality which the untimely dead was able to show despite her short span (compare no.29, 1.6), and to understand it as including the physical charm suggested by 1.4 (but without a contrast, removing interior qualities from its range, as Edgar's paraphrase might

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suggest). ἐπένθησεν = ἐπὶ νθησεν.

9 Failure to avoid the hiatus in τὸ ἐμὸν reflects the tendency to treat words separately, at least in orthography; crasis may still have occurred when the phrase was spoken (Gignac, *Grammar*, i, 319, 323-4); compare no.32, above, ll.7 & 9.

10 ἀγνοτραφές: in the LXX, Philo and the N.T. ἀγνός and cognates usually have a moral sense, sometimes that of chastity, which is common in later Christian texts (Lampe, *Patristic Greek lexicon*, s.v.), and is probably intended here; comparably, ἀγνεία is used of the chastity of a married woman in Philo, *Abr.* 98 (Sarah, unviolated by Pharaoh), *V.Mos.* ii 137 (linked with spiritual beauty, which has been mentioned here in l.8); and in Titus ii 5. ἀγνός is not used in the LXX of foodstuffs (*RB* 32, 154); καθαρός is the usual adjective in the Greek Pentateuch for things 'pure' according to the laws. Probably, then, l.10 does not directly allude to the dietary laws, a possibility suggested in *CIJ*. For a comparable compound, once again alluding to chastity in marriage, see the phrase ἀγνοφύτου ρίζης ἀγαθὸν βλάστημα, 'good offshoot of a root planted in purity', describing the five-year-old Politta in a non-Jewish epitaph of the imperial period (E. Bernand, *IM* no.96 = Peek, *GV* no.1245, l.1). With the link in this line between bodily purity (chastity) and the soul's flight to the holy ones (see below), compare Eleazar's last words in IV Macc. v 37 ἀγνόν με οἱ πατέρες εἰσδέξονται (adduced in *RB*, *ibid.* and by Fischer, *Eschatologie*, 241). Although the speaker is justifying his refusal to eat pork, this is understood as a resolve not to betray law, priesthood and virtue (IV Macc. v 34-6), and ἀγνός here too therefore seems primarily moral, 'innocent' of offence, as in II Cor. vii 11. The Jewish laws may be indirectly hinted at in l.10, but as the basis of Arsinoë's moral purity, the primary point.

Flight of the soul (ἔπετε from πέτομαι, with Lietzmann and Lewis, rather than ἔπεται, with Edgar, *CIJ* and E. Bernand) to the 'holy' or 'pious' touches on a widespread theme of Greek epitaphs; compare ψυχὴ δ' ἐκ ρεθῶν παμένη μετὰ δαίμονας ἄλλους | ἦλυθε σὴ, ναίεις δ' ἐν μακάρων δαπέδῳ 'your soul, flying from the limbs after other spirits, has arrived, and you dwell in the plain of the blessed' (Kaibel, *EG* no.243 = Peek, *GV* no.2040, ll.5-6; Pergamum, 1st-2nd cent. A.D.), quoted with other passages by Lattimore, *Themes*, 33-6. ὁσιος renders יוֹסֵי in the LXX, and was applied by Jews to their own patriarchs and prophets, ψυχαὶ ὁσαὶ inspired by Wisdom in each generation (Wisd. vii 27), the πατέρων χορός to which the dying would be 'gathered' (IV Macc. xviii 23, echoing the phrase from Gen. xv 13, etc.). The 'pious' (ὁσιος) in general among the Israelites will inherit the Lord's promises (Ps.Sol. xii

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8(6)) and have everlasting life (Ps.Sol. xiv 2(3), 6(9-10)); hence the wish κοιμήσις μετὰ δόσιων, *CIJ* 55, etc. The word was also applied by Jews to respected contemporaries with more typically Greek consolation (θαροῦτε πατέρες ὅσοι οὐδὲς ἀθάνατος, Beth She'arim 193, 3rd-4th cent. A.D.; on ὅσος, Schwabe & Lifshitz, *Beth She'arim* ii, p.11, no.34). Jews might therefore hear distinctive overtones in l.10 (Fischer, 241), but the words entirely fit Greek convention.

Pediment-topped rectangular stele, 67.5 x 30 cm., with denticulated cornice and acroteria. Letter forms: A Ε Θ C Ω/Ω.

34 (Plate XI; *CIJ* ii no.1511): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): mid-2nd century B.C.– early 2nd century A.D. Stele; epitaph; metrical. Cairo Museum.

Text follows E. Bernand, *IM* no.15, p.92.

εἰμὲι ἐγὼ Ἰησοῦς, ὁ φῶς δὲ Φα|μεῖς, παροδεῖτα, |
 (ἐξήκοντα ἐτῶν) ἦλθον δ' εἰς Ἀείδαν· |
 κλαύσατε δὴ ἅμα πάντας | τὸν ἐξαπίνης μεταβάνατα ||
 εἰς μυχὸν αἰώνων ἐν σκοτίᾳ | διάγειν.
 καὶ σὺ δὲ, Δωσίθεε, | κατάκλαέ με· σοὶ γὰρ ἀνάνκη | 5
 δάκρισι πικροτάτοις τύμβῳ | ἐμῷ προχέειν·
 τέκνον ἐμοὶ εἴ σ[ύ], || ἐγὼ γὰρ ἀπῆλθον ἄτεκος· |
 κλαύσατε πάντες ὁμοῦ Ἰησὸν | δυσμενέα.

(ἐξήκοντα ἐτῶν) (l.2) for ἕλ on the stone; *CIJ*, *CPJ* (ἐξηκονταέτης), following Edgar

For πάντας on the stone (l.3): *CIJ*, *CPJ* πάντ(ε)ς, following Edgar

εἴ σ[ύ] (l.7): εἴ σ[ύ] *CIJ*, *CPJ*, following M.N. Tod (*SEG* i 134-5)

ἀπῆλθον (l.7): *CIJ* minuscules -θεν (probably a misprint, majuscules -θον)

ἄτεκος (l.7): *CIJ*, *CPJ* ἄτεκ(ν)ος, following Edgar

Ἰησὸν (l.8): *CIJ* Ἰησο(ῦ)ν, following Edgar

I am Jesus, my father was Phameis, passer-by; and at the age of sixty I went down to Hades. All of you weep together

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for him who suddenly passed to the deep place of the ages,
to dwell in darkness. And you, Dositheus, bewail me; for it
is laid upon you to pour forth most bitter tears over my
tomb. You are my child, for I departed childless. Weep, all
together, for the hapless Jesus.

C.C. Edgar, 'More tomb-stones from Tell el Yahoudieh', *ASAE* 22 (1922), p.10 no.22; *SEG* i (1923), pp.134-5, 140 no.571; H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), p.283 no.22 = *KS* i (1958), p.441; *SB* iii (1926), p.77 no.6648; *SEG* viii (1937), p.84 no.493; A. Wilhelm, 'Das Epithalamion in Lukianos' Συμπόσιον ἡ Λαμπροί', *WS* 56 (1938), pp.58-59; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.422-3 no.1511; W. Peek, *GV* (1955) p.219 no.808; *CPJ* iii (1964), pp.157-8 no.1511; E. Bernand, *IM* (1969), pp.92-5 no.15, pl.xxvii & xxviii; G. Mussies, 'Greek in Palestine and the Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern ii (1976), pp.1043-4.

Notice of Edgar, 'More tomb-stones', in *RB* 32 (1923), p.154; L. Robert, *Hellenica* xi-xii (1960), p.261 n.4; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; S.M. Ruozzi Sala, *Lexicon nominum semiticorum* (1974), p.19; G. Dellling, 'Biblisch-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten', *BSAC* 22 (1974-5), p.19 n.6; U. Fischer, *Eschatologie und Jenseitserwartung* (1978), p.238; H.C.C. Cavallin, 'Leben nach dem Tode im Spätjudentum', *ANRW* II.19.1 (1979), p.321 n.577; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.100; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 n.40, p.680 n.57.

This epitaph belongs to the second group of inscribed stones collected by Tewfik Effendi Boulos from villagers near Tell el-Yehoudieh (see nos.32-3); the name Jesus confirms its Jewish character, and Dositheus was a popular Jewish name in Egypt (see D. Rokeah's list, *CPJ* iii, 173-4). The Leontopolis connection sets the upper limit of date about the middle of the second century B.C.; A.D.115-7 forms a probable lower limit. The metre is often harsh. Elements normally short are treated as long (δ, l.1; the first syllable of ἐγώ, l.7); a spondee twice begins the second half of the pentameter (ll.2, 8); in l.3 there is hiatus (δὴ ἔμα) and the second α in πάντα is treated as short despite the two consonants following, probably because the final *sigma* will have been dropped in speech (Mayser, *Grammatik*, i.1, §45.1(a); Gignac, *Grammar*, i, p.126). On the other hand, the elegiac couplets are maintained consistently (if awkwardly) throughout, by contrast with no.35, below, or E.

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Bernand, *IM* no.75 = Peek, *GV* 1198. The epigram is well towards the lower end of the scale of elegance represented here, but not at the bottom.

Several spellings represent contemporary phonetic changes, notably the interchange between ϵ and ι , both long ($\pi\alpha\rho\theta\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha$, l.1) and short ($\epsilon\lambda\mu\epsilon\iota$, l.1; $\Lambda\epsilon\iota\delta\alpha\nu$, l.2) (Thackeray, *Grammar*, §6,24; Mayser, *Grammatik*, i.1, §9.2-3); unassimilated ν within a non-composite word ($\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\nu\kappa\eta$, l.5) (Mayser, *Grammatik*, §53.c(1)); and ν omitted before a vowel ($\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\kappa\omicron\varsigma$, l.7) (examples from papyri of 1st cent. A.D. in Gignac, *Grammar*, i, p.117, and from $\aleph$ in Thackeray, *Grammar*, §7,36).

The predominantly mythological and mournful tone of the epitaph (see ll.2-4, 8) recurs especially but not only in no.38, below (see note). A threefold summons to lament (ll.2, 5, 8) occurs here and in two further metrical epitaphs (nos.35, 37, below). A single injunction to weep is found in most of the remaining metrical epitaphs collected here (nos.30, 31, 32, 33, 36, 40), and may have stood in the lost commencements of nos.23, 29 and 114, but it is absent from the complete epigrams nos.38 (ten lines) and 39 (thirteen lines). It occasionally occurs in prose Leontopolis epitaphs such as no.64 (see note), but the simple 'farewell' $\chi\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon$ is far more common (see *Formulae Index*).

The prominence of lamentation in the Jewish epitaphs, mainly from Leontopolis, continues a well-marked theme of non-Jewish epitaphs, including Greek epigrams from Egypt (E. Bernand, *IM* p.26; Kant, 'Inscriptions', p.678); but it has been tentatively asked whether strongly-maintained Jewish customs of lamentation are reflected at the same time, a question posed especially but not only when, as here, mourning becomes the principal theme of the whole epitaph (so E. Bernand, *IM*, p.197 & n.4 (on no.33, l.1), cf. pp.94 & n.4 (on this epitaph), 101 (on no.37), and 204 (on no.36); Méléze-Modrzejewski, *Égypte*, p.108 (on no.33)).

Mourning customs seem best, if still sketchily, reflected in no.35, below, with its extra detail of beating with the hands (l.6); this practice is noted in the Mishnah (M.K. iii 8-9) as an accompaniment of the organized weeping and (songs of) lament which are perhaps envisaged in the calls for tears and lamentations in the epitaphs (cf. Jer. ix 16-19 (17-20) (female mourners); Eccles. xii 5 (male mourners); Mt. ix 23 (flautists); Josephus, *B.J.* iii 437 (flautists accompanying dirges)). Nevertheless, such organized mourning has belonged to Greek and Egyptian as well as Jewish culture from ancient to modern times (E. Bernand, *IM*, p.384 & nn.7-8, on *SEG* viii 621 = *SB* 7871 = Peek, *GV* 1975 (on Egypt); G.F. Abbott, *Macedonian folklore* (Cambridge, 1903), pp.194-5). Only Spartan fortitude refused a tear, according to the

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epigram of Dioscorides, probably from third-century B.C. Egypt (A.P. vii 229 = Gow & Page, *Hellenistic epigrams*, ll.1651-6). It has been suggested that Greek epitaphs in Egypt were themselves sung as dirges (A. Bernand, 'Écrire et crier', *ZPE* 87 (1991), 45-6). On the other hand, Jews could also share the non-Jewish advice not to mourn too much (no.36, below, l.3 and note).

Stress in these metrical epitaphs on the commonplace injunction to weep therefore fully accords with Jewish custom, but this in turn accords with contemporary non-Jewish usage. On the level of the epigrammatists' literary task, repetition of the motif may reflect the composers' debt to established formulae as much as the particular disposition of patrons. The marked establishment of this particular motif at Leontopolis nevertheless suggests that it was found acceptable there. It can be called a Jewish trait in the sense that patrons in a Jewish community were often ready to accept a continuance of, and occasionally a heightening of, a familiar element in contemporary non-Jewish epitaphic tradition.

1 Jesus (= Joshua, Exod. xvii 9-10, etc.), also in no.65, below, attested in Egypt by papyri and ostraca from the second century B.C. to the second century A.D. (Rokeah in *CPJ* iii, 180); in the late second century B.C. the name of an immigrant from Judaea, Jesus son of Sirach (Ecclus I 27 and Prologue). φός, aor. part., usually intrans. in classical Greek, here trans., 'begetter'. The Egyptian name (compare no.33, l.5) Phameis also has the form Pames (Preisigke, *Namenbuch*).

2 Hades here, as in most of its occurrences in the LXX (Gen. xxxvii 15, etc.) and the NT, is the *place* of the departed; contrast the personal Hades of no.31, l.8 (see note, and compare Wisd. i 14). Here and in l.8 the writer allowed himself a spondee in the second half of the pentameter; the placing of δέ may have been delayed for this purpose.

3 πάντας where πάντες is expected: see on no.29, l.5.

4 μυχός, a nook, recess or hidden place, here of Hades (l.2); the implied connection was familiar, see Wisd. xvii 13 (14) ἐξ...ἔδου μυχῶν, Philo *Heres* 45 ἐν μυχῶις "Αἰδου, *Somn.* i 151, τοὺς ἐν "Αἰδου μυχούς, *Leg.* 49 πρὸς...Ταπτάρον μυχός. The rendering 'deep place' here follows Vulgate Wisd. xvii 14 *ab altissimis inferis*. αἰῶνων qualifying a metonym for Hades stresses (in contrast with no.33, l.10) the negative side of the Greek and Jewish epitaphic commonplace of an eternal home (Lattimore, *Themes*, 75-8 (quoting this passage), 165-7; similarly negative, but open to positive interpretation, and referrable to the grave, note Eccles. xii 5: the man is gone εἰς οἶκον αἰῶνος αὐτοῦ. Jewish use of the Graeco-Roman *domus aeterna* for the grave is found in LXX Ps. xlviii 12, later in *CIJ* 523; further evidence is discussed

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with reference to the structure and ornament of tombs and ossuaries in Figueras, *Ossuaries*, 88-93). With ll.2-4 contrast the similar but gentler με .. | θῆκ' Αἰδῆς ἔμπνουν εἰς μυχὸν εὐσεβέων (Kaibel, *EG* no.241a = Peek, *GV* no.1148, ll.17-18; Smyrna, not later than 2nd cent. A.D.) 'Hades put me still breathing into the deep place of the pious'; Hades is agent, not place, and seems to keep a special nook for the righteous, although the depths of the grave may be primarily in view.

5 Dositheus (see above) was evidently the heir (probably an adopted son, or a slave brought up in the house (E. Bernand). At Gen. xv 2-3 LXX Abraham is ἄτεκνος (see l.7 and no.50, below), and his heir is to be his οἰκογενής.

7 ἄτεκος for ἄτεκνος (see on l.5).

8 'Hapless' or the like must be the meaning of δυσμενής here, by contrast with its regular sense of 'hostile' (so, as a description of the Jews in LXX Esth. iii 13d, 13g (xiii 4, 7); III Macc. iii 7, 25). *LSJ* and *Suppl.* give no examples of the meaning 'hapless'; A. Wilhelm, followed by E. Bernand, derived it from an understanding of δυσ- as negating μένος in the sense of 'strength'. δυστυχής or, had metre allowed, δύσμορος would have been expected here; it may tentatively be suggested that, just as these words meaning 'unfortunate' were sometimes used as terms of reproach, 'perverse' (both words, Gow, *Theocritus*, ii, p.161, on *Id.* vii 119) or 'wretch' (δύσμορος, Gow & Page, *Philip*, ii, p.277, on l.2195 = *A.P.* v 106, l.6), so conversely δυσμενής 'ill-disposed' extended its range to the compassionate 'ill-fated'.

Pediment-topped rectangular stele, 55 x 31 cm., with denticulated cornice, acroteria and denticulation within the upper sides of the pediment. Letter forms: A E C Ω.

35 (CIJ ii no.1512): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): mid-2nd century B.C.– early 2nd century A.D. Stele; epitaph; metrical.

Cairo Museum.

Text follows E. Bernand, *IM* no.94 p.369.

ἡτῶν δεκαήχς, Παῦνι ἡνάτη εἰκάδι, ἀβήθανη. |
 εἰσίδε μου στήλην, παροδίτα, κλαῦ|σον ἀθλήσας,
 σαῖς χερσὶν κόψαι | πεντάκι (πενταετην).

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ἄρτι γὰρ οὐδὲ γάμου | μέτ(οχ)ος κῆμαι ἐν τύβωι,
 καὶ γονέ(σ) | ἐς πάσχουσ' ἱκέλως ἐπὶ υἱὸν ἀρεστόν, | 5
 οἱ τε φίλοι ζητοῦσιν ὁμήλικα καὶ συν|έταιρον·
 σῶμα δ' ἐμὸν κῆται χθρον | ἰς {ἰς} εὐσεβέα·
 κ(λ)αύσας (εἰ)πέ ἄωρε, | πανώδυ{δυ}ρε καὶ πανάριστε(α),
 ὃς πᾶ|σης {ης} ἀρετῆς πάντοτε κυδαλιμῶ(ς).

(πενταέτην) (l.3) for EL on the stone

τύβωι (l.4): *CIJ* majuscules, *CPJ* apparatus ΘΥΒΩΙ (probably a misprint in *CIJ*); Edgar TYΒΩΙ, confirmed by Peek and E. Bernand
 φίλοι (l.6): *CIJ* minuscules φίλον (misprint; *CIJ* majuscules ΦΙΛΟΙ, following Edgar)

ἰς {ἰς} (l.7): *CIJ*, *CPJ* εἰς; Edgar εἰς for CIC read on the stone (so *CIJ* majuscules); Peek ἰς (from the stone); E. Bernand ICIC
 κυδαλιμῶ(ς) (l.9): *CPJ*, in agreement with Peek, κυδαλίμω

In the sixteenth year, Payni twenty-ninth, he died.

Look on my gravestone, passer-by, and having considered it, weep. Beat with your hands five times for the five-year-old. For now I lie in the tomb, without even having shared in marriage. My parents suffer likewise for the son who pleased them, and my friends look for their comrade and companion; but my body lies in the blessed place. Weeping say: Untimely dead, deeply mourned, you who were always renowned for all virtue.

C.C. Edgar, 'More tomb-stones from Tell el Yahoudieh', *ASAE* 22 (1922), pp.11-12 no.23; *SEG* i (1923), p.135 no.572; H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), p.283 no.23 = *KS* i (1958), pp.441-2; *SB* iii (1926), p.77 no.6649; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.423-5 no.1512; W. Peek, *GV* (1955) p.376 no.1270; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.158 no.1512; E. Bernand, *IM* (1969), pp.368-372 no.94, pl.xxv.

Notice of Edgar, 'More tomb-stones', in *RB* 32 (1923), pp.154-5; C. Spicq, 'Le lexique de l'amour', *Mnemosyne* 8 (1955), p.32; G. Zuntz, Review of *CPJ* iii, *JSS* 10 (1965), p.293; A.J. Festugière, 'Les proscynèmes de Philae', *REG* 83 (1970), p.177; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974),

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p.123; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.274 n.1; U. Fischer, *Eschatologie und Jenseitserwartung* (1978), pp.238-40; G.H.R. Horsley, *New documents* iv (1987), pp.225, 227; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 n.40, p.680 n.57, p.704 n.217.

This epitaph on an unnamed boy of five is from the second group of stones obtained by Tewfik Effendi Boulos from villagers near Tell el-Yehoudieh (see nos.32-3). Its Jewish character is indicated by this provenance, and the resemblance of both stone and inscription to those of assuredly Jewish monuments from Leontopolis; but the content has nothing distinctively Jewish. Given the Leontopolis connection, the date will be between the mid-second century B.C. and the revolt of A.D.115-7, and the 'sixteenth year' (l.1) might then be set in reigns including those of Ptolemy X Alexander I (92 B.C.), Ptolemy XII Auletes (65 B.C.), Augustus (14 B.C.), Tiberius (A.D. 29), Domitian (A.D.95), and Trajan (A.D.113). The lettering, however, suggests 'la haute époque impériale', according to E. Bernand (p.369), and would therefore point to one of the last four dates.

'The language and the metre are particularly faulty' (E. Bernand, p.370). Thus, the fourth line is strikingly harsh in metre, the last in phrasing (see notes); an extra hexameter is admitted at l.5 (but this occurs in many inscribed epigrams, e.g. E. Bernand, *IM* nos.36, 52, 75, 96); there is hiatus in l.4 κῆραι ἐν and l.5 ἐπὶ υἱόν; and ις (l.7) is unexpectedly treated as short, partly no doubt on the basis of the common εἰ-ι interchange, in which εἰ could represent the short *iota* (see no.34, ll.1-2 and notes, above). Elsewhere the metre is kept up, but in all the verse seems still rougher than in no.34, although it remains comparable with that of other Jewish and non-Jewish epigrams on stone from Egypt (e.g. no.36, below, or E. Bernand, *IM* no.96 [Politta's epitaph], quoted on no.33 l.4, above). The cutting is repeatedly at fault (ll.4, 5, 7, 8, 9).

On the threefold summons to mourn (ll.2, 3, 8) see no.34, above.

1 Unusually, the date is given at the beginning. ἡτῶν = ἐτῶν, δεκαήχς = δεκαεξ, ἡνάτη = ἐνάτη, ἀβήσανη = ἀπέθανε; the spellings represent phonetic changes attested in MSS. of the LXX as well as in papyri in general: ε-η, π-β (Thackeray, *Grammar*, §6,17; §7,16).

2 ἀθλήσας = ἀθρήσας (ρ-λ: examples in Thackeray, *Grammar*, §7,20).

3 κόψαι, 'beat' the head or the breast, in mourning (Edgar), or clap the hands; middle (aor. impv.), with accusative of the person mourned, as at Gen. xxiii 2, l 10 and often in the LXX. The custom is mentioned in the Mishnah

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(see no.34, above). (πενταέτην) (Edgar, followed by *CIJ*, *CPJ*, E. Bernand) represents EL on the stone; Peek prefers the less elegant but more straightforward resolution πέντε ἐτῶν. Horsley (*New Documents* iv, p.225 no.114, 2b) suggests the reading ΠΕΝΤΑΚΙΕ Λ, and argues that L may not refer to years, for this symbol is unlikely to have been used in a metrical text (but it occurs in the metrical no.36, below), and usually precedes the numeral (but Horsley compares no.20, above); moreover, the sentiment in ll.4-5 (but see note on l.4) hardly suits a young child. It seems better to understand L as referring to years.

4 ἄρτι, often found in epitaphs of the untimely dead (e.g. Peek, *GV* nos.969 (a twelve-year-old), 975-7), may have by association with l.3 the sense 'just recently [five years old]' (D.M. Lewis 'early...I lie', *CPJ*); the rendering 'now' links it with κῆμαι (ι = ει, as in l.7 twice; see on no.114, l.7), to give the sense 'just recently I have come to lie...'. The mention of marriage must arise from hasty adoption of a stock phrase, in view of the boy's age (E. Bernand); perhaps compare the designation of persons well on in years as ἄωρος (note on no.41, below). The line has a harsh spondaic ending, with hiatus (on the tendency to isolate each word, see no.34, above); the spelling τῶβω reflects the pronunciation of μ as β (Thackeray, *Grammar*, §7,19).

ἀρεστός, often in the LXX, usually abstract (what is pleasing to God); but compare *Wisd.* iv-v where the righteous is εὐάρεστος θεῷ (iv 10), ἀρεστή γὰρ ἦν κυρίῳ ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ (iv 14), and κατελογίσθη ἐν υἱοῖς θεοῦ (v 5).

7 'The blessed place' seems to be the grave, merging with the thought of the underworld; compare κοῦφον ἔχουσ γαίης βάρος εὐσεβίης ἐνὶ χώρῳ (Kaibel *EG* no.700 = Peek *GV* 231 l.5) 'may you have a light weight of earth in the place of blessedness' (from the epitaph of a three-year-old, Rome, 2nd-3rd century A.D.). For the tendency to blur the thoughts of the grave and the after-life, see Lattimore, *Themes*, 67-8, 73-4, and compare no.38, below, ll.5-9 (the departed imagined both in Hades and in the grave). Hence εὐσεβία need not be taken (with E. Bernand) as a clumsy adaptation of εὐσεβέων, from the more familiar phrase 'place of the pious' (the rendering here in *CPJ*; for the idea, compare no.33, l.10 and note); and the line is not necessarily unfeeling (Zuntz, p.293) in concern with the body rather than the soul.

8 κυδαλιμῶ(ς) = κυδαλιμός (Thackeray, *Grammar*, §6,28, for obliteration of distinction between ω and ο); ἦσθα is understood, to give the English above.

Pediment-topped rectangular stele, 46.8 x 38 cm., with recessed field and acroteria. Letter forms: A E I C O.

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36 (CIJ ii no.1513): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): mid-2nd century B.C.– early 2nd century A.D. Stele; epitaph; metrical.
Cairo Museum.

Text follows E. Bernand, *IM* no.44, p.203.

ἀσπεῖοι καὶ ξένοι, κατακλαύ|σατε πάντες Ῥαχὴλιν

σώ|φρονα, πασιφίλην, ὥς (ἐτῶν) λ'. |

μή με μάτην πενθεῖτε | κενά(ς) ·

εἰ δ' ὀ(λί)γον ζῆσα | χρόνον κε(κ)ριμένον,

ἀλ|λὰ ἐλέους ἐλπίδα ἄγα|θὴν ἐγὼ προσδέχο|μαι.

5

καὶ Ἀγαθοκλῆς ὥς (ἐτῶν) λη'.

λ' (1.2): Edgar, *CIJ* (τριάκοντα ἐτῶν), *CPJ* (τριακονταετην)

ζῆσα (1.4): Edgar, Lietzmann ζῆσα(ι)

χρόνον (1.4): Edgar, *CIJ*, *CPJ* χρόνον

Fellow-townsmen and strangers, all weep for Rachelis, chaste, friend to all, about thirty years old. Do not mourn me in vain, [? uttering] empty [? groans.] If it was decreed that I should live but a short time, yet I look for a good hope of mercy.

Also Agathokles, about 38 years old.

C.C. Edgar, 'More tomb-stones from Tell el Yahoudieh', *ASAE* 22 (1922), pp.12-13 no.24 (from the stone); *SEG* i (1923), pp.134-5, 140 no.571; H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehoudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), p.284 no.24 = *KS* i (1958), pp.441-2; *SB* iii (1926), p.77 no.6650; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.425-6 no.1513; W. Peek, *GV* (1955), p.366 no.1239; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.158 no.1513; E. Bernand, *IM* (1969), pp.203-6 no.44, pl.xxiii (from the stone).

Notice of Edgar, 'More tomb-stones', in *RB* 32 (1923), p.154; L. Robert, *Hellenica* i (1940), p.22 n.7; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; S.M. Ruozzi Sala, *Lexicon nominum semiticorum* (1974), p.31; G. Delling, 'Biblisch-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten', *BSAC* 22 (1974-5), p.15 n.3, p.28; U. Fischer, *Eschatologie und Jenseitserwartung* (1978), pp.238, 240; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.96 no.90, p.100, p.106 no.127; L.H.

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Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.680 n.57; J. Mélèze-Modrzejewski, *Les juifs d'Égypte* (1991), pp.109-111.

This epitaph belongs to the second group of inscribed stones collected by Tewfik Effendi Boulos from villagers near Tell el-Yehoudieh, and probably deriving from Leontopolis (see nos.32-3). Its Jewish character is confirmed by the name Rachelis and the sentiments of ll.4-5. No date is given in the inscription; the Leontopolis connection suggests an upper limit of the mid-second century B.C., and the revolt of A.D.115-7 forms the probable lower limit. The epitaph falls into two parts. (i) ll.1-3, clearly metrical, use stock phrases and appear to break off in mid-sentence; (ii) ll.4-5 can be discerned as verse only by the friendly ear, and in contrast with 1-3 use biblical idiom. The name added at the end is probably that of the husband.

1 The stele can be imagined as the speaker (see no.39, below); on the injunction to weep, see no.34, above. ἀστέοι for ἀστοί, regularly linked and contrasted with ξένοι (ε here probably for εἰ [Mayser, *Grammatik*, i.1, §8.1(a)]) to comprehend 'all comers', e.g. Theocritus, *Epigr.* xiv = *A.P.* ix 435 (usage illustrated by Gow, *Theocritus*, ii, pp.105, 539). πάντες is still a trochee, despite the final consonant (compare no.34, l.3, above).

Ῥαχήλις: Ῥαχήλ in the LXX and Philo, Ῥαχήλα in Josephus; the name does not otherwise occur in *CPJ*, and is attested in Judaea in the Second Temple and Mishnaic period, according to T. Ilan, 'Notes on the distribution of Jewish women's names', 197, only as the name of R. Akiba's wife (*Aboth de-Rabbi Nathan*, version A, vi); note also Beth She'arim 121 = *CIJ* 1154, Ῥαήλ.

2 σώφρων is used as here of chaste wives in Philo, *Spec. Leg.* iii 59 (on the trial of jealousy), *Praem.* 139; cf. *Jos.* 50 (pretence of chastity).

πασιπλήν: see on no.41, l.2, below.

ὥς (ἐτῶν) λ': the stone has only the sign representing years, followed by the number; the resolution (τριακόντα ἐτῶν) favoured by E. Bernand, following Edgar and Peek, is relatively straightforward, but reverses the order of the symbols (ἐτῶν τριακόντα, keeping the order, would not scan); *CPJ* (τριακονταέτην), 'the thirty-year-old', is more elegant. Compare the two proposed resolutions at no.35, l.3, above. Here the presence of ὥς perhaps influences those who prefer resolution with separate ἐτῶν; but since each resolution requires some freedom, the neater (τριακονταέτην) should be preferred, giving a line-ending like that envisaged by Edgar and E. Bernand at no.35 l.3.

3 Rachelis herself now speaks. The apparent contradiction of ll.1-2 by l.3

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(*RB* 32 p.154, *CIJ*, *CPJ*) is therefore not surprising (E. Bernand). Compare in any case the advice Weep bitterly, then be comforted in Eccles xxxviii 16-23 (with a word from the departed, v.22). Injunctions by the departed not to lament are common in Greek epitaphs, occasionally as here (l.5) with reference to a hope of immortality (Lattimore, *Themes*, 217-8; on Christian continuation, 303-4, 325-6, citing I Thess. iv 13f., which can be viewed as a Jewish parallel to this epitaph).

πενθήτε, ι = ει, see on no.114, l.7.

κενά{ς}: E. Bernand thinks the *sigma* likely to have been added, by a stone-cutter's mistake, to κενά, which he construes as an adverbial neuter plural 'vainly', forming the last word of the prohibition μή με κτλ. l.3, however, forms the first 3½ feet of a hexameter, and l.4 (immediately following κενάς) seems to be meant for a pentameter; the rendering above therefore follows Lietzmann's suggestion, cautiously endorsed in *CPJ*, that there is a lacuna at the end of l.3. Lietzmann offered [στοναχᾶς ἀφέντες] to illustrate how the lost 2½ feet might have been supplied; this is translated above, again as an illustration, not an acceptance of a particular restoration. If the full line ended with *sigma*, the missing words could have been lost by haplography in copying or cutting.

4 The epitaph here goes on in prose, according to Lietzmann, followed in *CIJ*, with the remark 'C'est bien étonnant'. The line in fact scans as a pentameter if the second syllable of ζῆσα can count as long (or if ζῆσαι was intended [Edgar, Lietzmann]), and if a spondee is allowed in the second half, as occurs in the pentameters no.34, ll.2, 8. Given the undoubted errors in ὀ(λί)γον and κε(κ)ρμένον, a mistaken omission of ι after ζῆσα can readily be envisaged, and Edgar's proposal, which also restores the metre, is followed in the rendering above.

5 The line can be heard as a rough hexameter if spoken elision of the final α in ἀλλά and ἐλπὶδα is assumed, despite the appearance of hiatus in the text (Gignac, *Grammar*, i, p.319 suggests that elision was regular in speech, but only partly represented in writing; compare the apparent hiatus in no.33, above, l.9). As in no.34, above (see note), elements normally short are treated as long (ι in ἐλπὶδα, perhaps helped by accent; ε in ἐγώ, as in no.34, l.7; the second ο in προσδέχομαι, like ὁ in no.34, l.1), and a vowel is treated as short despite two following consonants (the first ο in προσδέχομαι, compare the second α in πάντα, no.34 l.3), probably because final σ (here of the compound preposition) will have been dropped in speech (Gignac, *Grammar*, i, p.126). It is likely, then, that verse is attempted here, and that the spoken Greek sounded more verse-like than it looks. The epigram is

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broadly comparable in manner with nos.34 and 35, above, or with Politta's epitaph (E. Bernand, *IM* no.96; note also no.15, possibly attempting a Doric style, but again strongly reflecting phonetic changes).

'Good hope' of an afterlife is a phrase from Greek usage; Socrates says in Plato (*Phaedo* 67B) ἡ ἀποδημία ἡ νῦν προστατομένη μετὰ ἀγαθῆς ἐλπίδος γίνεται. Cf. *Rep.* vi 496E, a philosopher dies μετὰ καλῆς ἐλπίδος, quoted with other evidence and linked with this epitaph and II Thess. ii 16 by F. Cumont, *Lux perpetua* (Paris, 1949), 401-5 (404), followed with an addition (*IG* v 2, no.265, honorific inscription by priests of Kore, Mantinea, 64-61 B.C.), by P. Otzen, "Gute Hoffnung" bei Paulus', *ZNW* 49 (1958), 283-5 (both derive the phrase from the vocabulary of the mysteries).

The Greek phrase coalesced readily with the Pentateuchal expectation of 'good things' in national restoration (Deut. xxviii 11; xxx 9 ἐπιστρέψει κύριος ὁ θεός σου εὐφρανθῆναι ἐπὶ σὲ εἰς ἀγαθὰ, cf. Ps.Sol. xvii 50 τὰ ἀγαθὰ Ἰσραὴλ ἐν συναγωγῇ φυλῶν, xviii 7 τὰ ἀγαθὰ Κυρίου ὁ ποιήσει), and hence, as here, with ἔλεος 'mercy' in the sense of redemption (probably linked with understanding of the Third Commandment, Exod. xx 6 = Deut. v 10 ποιῶν ἔλεος); II Macc. ii 7 (A) ἕως ἂν συναγάγῃ ὁ θεὸς ἐπισυναγωγὴν τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ ἔλεος γένηται, III Macc. ii 19 (a prayer) ἐπέφανον τὸ ἔλεός σου (cf. vi 4, 39).

For Jewish 'good hope', note the importance of hope in the LXX, e.g. Gen. iv 26 where Enoch *hopes* to call upon the name of the Lord (interpreted with emphasis on hope by Philo, *Det.Pot.* 138-40, *Abr.* 7-16 ('the true man is he who expects good things (τὰ ἀγαθὰ) and is stayed on kindly hopes (ἐλπίσι χρησταῖς)', *Praem.* 13-14, *Quaest.Gen.* ad loc.), Job xvii 15 (ἐλπίς in parallel with τὰ ἀγαθὰ) and Philo's definition of hope as ἀγαθῶν προσδοκία (*Quaest.Gen.* on iv 26, *Post.Caini* 26, cf. *Abr.* 8); so in Philo Moses before his death exhorts the nation in his Song 'through kindly hopes' διὰ χρηστῶν ἐλπίδων (of redemption, Deut. xxxii 36-43), having ordained his successor with great cheerfulness διὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ μέλλειν ἀθανατίζεσθαι 'because of the hope of future immortality' (Philo, *Virt.* 67, 75), and the Jewish embassy to Gaius in their distress remember how 'the laws create good hopes' of national redemption, οἱ νόμοι .. ἐλπίδας ἀγαθὰς δημιουργοῦσιν (*Leg.* 195); compare II Thess. ii 16 δοὺς παράκλησιν αἰώνιαν καὶ ἐλπίδα ἀγαθῆν.

For the connection here of the clearly biblical 'mercy' with 'hope', compare Eccles. xxiii 5 in 248 and its allies (ἡ ἐλπίς τοῦ ἐλεοῦς σου, discussed by J.H.A. Hart, *Ecclesiasticus: the Greek text of Codex 248* (Cambridge, 1909), 310-11); Ps. cxlvi (cxlvii) 11 the Lord takes pleasure ἐν τοῖς ἐλπίζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ (the ingathering has been mentioned in v.2, and in the LXX verse 11 concludes the psalm; compare the references to mercy at the end of

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P^s.Sol. ii, iv, vi, vii, xi, xii, xiv, xv & xvii); P^s.Sol. vi 8-9 καὶ πᾶν αἴτημα ψυχῆς ἐλπιζούσης πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιτελεῖ ὁ Κύριος. εὐλογητὸς Κύριος ὁ ποιῶν ἔλεος τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτὸν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ; and ἔλεος as object of hope in passages quoted below.

For the train of thought in ll.4-5, cf. especially Wisd. iii 4: although they were *punished* in the sight of men [by early death, as here], their *hope* is full of immortality, ἡ ἐλπίς αὐτῶν ἀθανασίας πλήρης (cf. Philo, *Virt.* 67, quoted above), iii 9 for grace and *mercy* (ἔλεος) are to his elect; xii 22 'being *judged*, let us expect *mercy*' κρινόμενοι δὲ προσδοκῶμεν ἔλεος (after recollection of the covenants 'of *good promises*', xii 21 ἀγαθῶν ὑποσχέσεων); Ecclus ii 7-9 ἀναμείνατε τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ ... ἐλπίζετε εἰς ἀγαθὰ καὶ εἰς εὐφροσύνην αἰῶνος καὶ ἔλεος 'wait for his *mercy* ... *hope* for *good things* and for eternal joy and *mercy*', developing Deut. xxx 9, quoted above; Job ii 9 LXX (no corresponding Hebrew) προσδεχόμενος τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας μου 'looking for the *hope* of my salvation' (part of Job's watchword, criticized by his wife); Titus ii 13 προσδεχόμενοι τὴν μακαρίαν ἐλπίδα 'looking for the blessed *hope*' (cf. προσδεχόμενος παράκλησιν τοῦ Ἰσραήλ and τοῖς προσδεχομένοις λύτρωσιν Ἰερουσαλήμ, Lk. i 26, 38). Verbally a less complete parallel, but suggestive of the thought of after-life implied here, is the development of Deut. xxx 9 at P^s.Sol. xiv 6 (cited at no.33, l.10, above, q.v.) διὰ τοῦτο ἡ κληρονομία αὐτῶν ἔξδης καὶ σκότος καὶ ἀπώλεια, καὶ οὐχ εὐρεθήσονται ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἑλέους δικαίων 'in the day of *mercy* for the righteous'. οἱ δὲ ὅσοι Κυρίου κληρονομήσουσιν ζωὴν ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ.

Against this background the 'good hope of *mercy*' (l.5) appears as the hope for a share in the good things of the redemption promised to the nation, probably with particular reference to immortality, as at Wisd. iii 4, 9, P^s.Sol. xiv 6(10). ll.4-5 look like an individualized continuation of a 'stock' epitaph, an attempt to go on with the elegiacs in an expression of specifically Jewish hopes. In view of the ample comparative material from Jewish sources there is no need to suppose that Rachelis had become a Christian (as suggested in RB 32, p.154; Méléze-Modrzejewski, *Les juifs d'Égypte*, p.109 comments that the hypothesis is not wholly absurd if the date is imperial, but that a Christian Jewess could be more readily envisaged at that time in Alexandria than in Leontopolis), but it seems likely that she belonged to a pious circle with an outlook like that met in Wisdom. Possibly her rare biblical name may be a further sign of such views, or of Judaeo ancestry (the name would be expected to survive in the region of Bethlehem), or both.

For Agathokles, compare no.46.

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Pediment-topped rectangular stele, 45 x 35 cm., with inscribed frame. Letter forms: A E C Ω.

37 (CIJ ii no.1522): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): mid-2nd century B.C.– early 2nd century A.D. Stele; epitaph; metrical.

Unknown.

Text follows E. Bernand, *IM* no.17, p.100.

Παππίωνα μεικρόν |
 κλαῦσον ἐπιστάς. |
 κλῶέ με μήτηρ,
 ἢ π[ε]ρ[υ]ρωμένη,
 εἰκ[ε] | [ο]σιε[ρ]πταέτην·
 κλαῦ[ε] | [σατε] πάντες.

5

Παππίωνα (l.1): *CIJ*, *CPJ* + {ι}, following Edgar

Stand near and weep for Pappion, the little one. Mother, consumed with grief, weep for me, dead at twenty-seven; all of you, weep.

C.C. Edgar, 'More tomb-stones from Tell el Yahoudieh', *ASAE* 22 (1922), p.16 no.33; *SEG* i (1923), p.136 no.582; H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehoudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), p.284 no.33 = *KS* i (1958), p.443; *SB* iii (1926), p.78 no.6659; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.429-430 no.1522; W. Peek, *GV* (1955), p.366 no.1240; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.160 no.1522; E. Bernand, *IM* (1969), pp.100-1 no.17.

A. Wilhelm, *Αγυπτιάκα* (1946), p.54; J. & L. Robert, *BE* (1948), p.209; G. Zuntz, Review of *CPJ* iii, *JSS* 10 (1965), p.291; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; U. Fischer, *Eschatologie und Jenseitserwartung* (1978), p.238; G.H.R. Horsley, *New documents* iv (1987), pp.225-6; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 nn.40, 41.

This undated epitaph, from the second group of inscribed stones collected by Tewfik Effendi Boulos, is probably from Leontopolis, and therefore to be dated between the mid-second century B.C. and the revolt of A.D.115-7 (see

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nos.32-4, above). The name Pappion occurs on another stone from this group (no.89, see note), and (as the father of Joseph and Pappos) on a stele like this one in design but of uncertain origin (no.132, below). The stone was entered in the provisional journal of the Cairo Museum, 12th June 1921, 4, but E. Bernand, p.100, notes that he could not find it there or at the Alexandria Museum, and that some stones have been moved from the Cairo Museum to the Port Said Museum.

No.83 is closely similar in form and vocabulary, but whereas it has 'metrical patterns' (D.M. Lewis) without being clearly metrical overall, here a division into metrical cola has been accepted since W. Crönert (in *SEG* i 582, followed by *CIJ*, Peek, *CPJ*, E. Bernand). Groups of words in metre were also recognized by Crönert in no.40, of A.D.8, where metre was probably intended but is not fully achieved. In nos.83 and 40 the metrical patterns are largely derived from elegiacs, whereas here on Crönert's view the short metrical entities may possibly (but see below) reflect the conventions of lyric verse, built up of series of relatively short metrical units (cola), rather than elegy, with its succession of lines. The eleven or twelve remaining Jewish metrical epitaphs known from Egypt are all by contrast in elegiac couplets, and the probably Jewish Egyptian epitaph from Rome (no.141, below) is in elegiacs and iambs.

Pappion's epitaph is the most clearly metrical of the three singled out above in its individual units, but its metrical pattern overall is debatable. Crönert identified l.1 as ithyphallic, but the rest as (rather free) dochmiacs; he compared the erotic lament published by B.P. Grenfell from a papyrus of the second century B.C., identified by Wilamowitz as largely a somewhat free dochmiac poem (text and literature in I.C. Cunningham, *Herodae Mimiambi cum appendice mimorum papyraceorum* (Leipzig, 1987), pp.36-8; on the metre, U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Kleine Schriften* ii (repr. Berlin, 1971), 95-120 (esp. 97-106), J.U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina* (Oxford, 1925), 179, and M.L. West, 'Metrical analyses: Timotheus and others', *ZPE* 45 (1982), 1-13 (12-13)). The dochmiacs of the lament are sometimes resolved into choriambic form (identified more often by Powell than by Wilamowitz) or joined with anapaests, and comparable resolutions would have to be assumed in ll.2-6 here, as Crönert notes; l.4, with its cretic ending, is perhaps the closest to a basic form of dochmius, but this short epitaph has nothing comparable with the series of relatively clear dochmiac cola found in parts of the much longer lament (62 lines in Cunningham).

In fact, it seems possible to scan at least four of the six lines here rather more straightforwardly as portions of the hexameters and pentameters

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commonly used in funerary epigrams. 11.2, 3 and 6 are dactylic dimeters, which in each case could have formed the last two feet of a hexameter; and 1.5 is a hemiepes, one half of a pentameter. 1.4 can also be read as a dactylic dimeter, if the last syllable may be treated as short. The ithyphallic 1.1 would then be the only group of words not forming a metrical sequence used in elegiacs. In 11.2-6 the phrases themselves 'are tags from metrical epitaphs' (Edgar). Here, then, as in nos.83 and 40, the composition draws mainly on elegiac metrical patterns.

For longer but somewhat comparable non-Jewish epitaphs made up of tags, with only one or two fully metrical lines, see E. Bernand, *IM*, nos.13, 57, 81, 100 (all of the Roman period); compare also, outside Egypt, the Jewish epitaph of Beth She'arim 183 (only one line out of nine readily recognizable as fully metrical).

The deceased's mother only is addressed, not father and mother as in no.83, and the last line addresses 'all' rather than 'brother', so it seems that Pappion's mother was the only member of his immediate family to survive him.

On the threefold summons to mourn (11.2, 3, 6) see no.34, above.

1 Between the two words Edgar discerned space for one letter, and conjectured it to be a redundant *iota*; Peek, followed by E. Bernand, read the lettering as continuous. Their difference in reading does not affect the sense. $\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\rho\nu$ ($\epsilon\iota$ for ι , as in this word in no.33 1.3, q.v.) is taken as adjectival with *CIJ*, *CPJ* and E. Bernand; for its application to an adult, see no.64 and note nos.97, 100. Bernand compares no.33 1.3, but there the reference is to childhood. In view of the other instances (noted by J. & L. Robert, *BE* 1948, no.259), Crönert's suggestion that $\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\rho\nu$ is an adverb here qualifying $\epsilon\pi\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ (*SEG* i 582) seems unlikely, despite the parallel Peek, *GV* 1261 (Crete, second century A.D.), quoted by E. Bernand, p.101 n.2.

4 $\pi[\epsilon|\pi\upsilon]\rho\omega\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta$, 'set on fire' metaphorically; compare no.32 1.4 and note.

5 $\epsilon\iota\kappa[ο\sigma\epsilon]\pi\tau\alpha\tau\eta\nu$. $-\eta\nu$ for $-\eta$ (acc. sg. m.); for Septuagintal examples of the accusative with additional ν see Thackeray, *Grammar*, §12.5.

Rectangular stele, 30 x 21 cm., with ornamental border and guide-lines. Letter forms: A E C Ω ..

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38 (Plate XII; *CIJ* ii no.1530): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): mid-2nd century B.C.– early 2nd century A.D. Stele; epitaph; metrical; Doric dialect.

Alexandria Museum.

Text follows E. Bernand, *IM* no.43, p.200.

στάλα μανύτειρα. – τίς ἐν | κυανανυγῆι τύμβῳι |
 κῆσαι; καὶ πάτραν καὶ γενέ|την ἔνεπε. – |
 Ἀρσινῶα, κούρα δ' Ἀλίνης καὶ Θεοδοσίῳι, ||
 φαμισθᾶ δ' Ὀνίου γὰ τρο|φὸς ἀμετέρα. – |
 ποσσαέτης δ' ὠλισθας ὑ|πὸ σκοτίνεν κλίμα Λάθας; – | 5
 ἱκοσέτης γοερὸν χῶρον || ἔβην νεκῶν. – |
 ζευγίσσης δὲ γάμους; – (ζ)εύχθην. – κατελίνπανες αὐ|τῷ
 τέκνον; – ἀτεκνος ἔ|βαν εἰς Ἀἴδαο δόμους. – |
 ἦ σοὶ κούφα χθὼν ἅ φθ||μένῳι φυλάκτωρ. – |
 καὶ σοί, ξεῖνε, φέροι καρπὸν | ἀπὸ σταχῶν. | 10
 (ἔτους) ις' Παῦνι κα'.

φαμισθᾶ (1.4): *CIJ* minuscules φαμισ(τ)ᾶ (correction proposed by Norsa)

γάμους (1.7): *CIJ* γάμο(ι)ς (correction proposed by Norsa)

κατελίνπανες (1.7): *CIJ* κατελί(μ)πανες (correction proposed by Norsa)

The stele bears witness. – 'Who are you that lie in the dark tomb? Tell me your country and your father.' 'Arsinoe, daughter of Aline and Theodosius, and the land which nourished us is called the land of Onias.' 'How old were you when you slipped down into the shadowy region of Lethe?' 'At twenty years old I went to the mournful place of the dead.' 'Were you joined in marriage?' 'I was.' 'Did you leave him a child?' 'Childless I went to the house of Hades.' 'May the earth, the guardian of the dead, be light upon you.' 'And for you, stranger, may it bear fruitful crops.' In the 16th year, Payni 21.

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M. Norsa, 'Iscrizione sepolcrale metrica', *BSAA* 26 (1931), pp.243-6; A. Momigliano, 'Un documento della spiritualità dei Giudei Leontopolitani', *Aegyptus* 12 (1932), pp.171-2; *SEG* viii (1937), p.82 no.482; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.435-8 no.1530; *SB* v (1955), p.118 no.7781; W. Peek, *GV* (1955), pp.559-560 no.1861; *CPJ* iii (1964), pp.161-2 no.1530; E. Bernand, *IM* (1969), pp.199-203 no.43, pl.xxvi (photograph; from the stone); J. Méléze-Modrzejewski, *Les juifs d'Égypte* (1991), pp.106, 109-10 (photograph).

A. Wilhelm, 'Das Epithalamion in Lukianos' Συμπόσιον ἢ Λαμθαί', *WS* 56 (1938), p.78; L. Robert, *Hellenica* i (1940), p.22 no.8; M.N. Tod, 'A Greek epigram from Egypt', *JEA* 37 (1941), p.102; G. Zuntz, Review of *CPJ* iii, *JSS* 10 (1965), p.292; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; S.M. Ruozi Sala, *Lexicon nominum semiticorum* (1974), p.30; G. Dellling, 'Biblisch-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten', *BSAC* 22 (1974-5), p.11 n.2, p.27 n.3; G. Mussies, 'Greek in Palestine and the Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern (1976), p.1043 n.10; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.274 n.1; U. Fischer, *Eschatologie und Jenseitserwartung* (1978), p.238; G. Sacco, 'Lethe negli epigrammi funerari', *Epigraphica* 40 (1978), p.46; H.C.C. Cavallin, 'Leben nach dem Tode im Spätjudentum', *ANRW* II.19.1 (1979), p.321 n.577; Schürer revised iii.i (1986), pp.48, 87; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.95 nos.61 & 76, p.100, p.111 no.298, p.122 no.647; G.H.R. Horsley, *New documents* iv (1987), p.224; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 n.43, p.680 n.57, p.685 n.88.

In this elegant Doric epitaph the twenty-year old Arsinoe names 'the land of Onias' (the district of Leontopolis) as her place of origin (l.4), and so attests her Jewish descent. There is nothing else which on its own would identify the epitaph as clearly Jewish, but the monument resembles Leontopolis gravestones both in the form of the stele and in the content of the epitaph, and the names Arsinoe and Theodosius were used by Jews.

E. Breccia bought the stone in Cairo (compare the provenance of no.40, probably from Leontopolis), and Medea Norsa published it from a photograph and information supplied by Breccia. The range of possible dates is the same as that for no.35, also of Payni in the sixteenth year; Breccia, followed by Norsa, proposed the first century B.C. or A.D., Peek the first century A.D.

Dialogue epitaphs were popular in Egypt; Peek, *GV* 1842, 1843, 1845, 1846 = E. Bernand, *IM*, nos.47, 68, 49 & 23 are other Egyptian examples ranging from the first to the third centuries A.D., and *P.Oxy.* 662, ascribed to the Augustan age (Norsa, pp.243-4), reproduces two such epitaphs by

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Leonidas of Tarentum and Antipater of Sidon (A.P. vii 163-4), and a third, otherwise unknown, by Amyntas (see Gow & Page, *Hellenistic epigrams*, ii, p.50). Leonides of Alexandria (first century A.D.) has a lively short epigram in this genre (A.P. vii 548 = Leonides x in Page, *Further Greek epigrams*, pp.520-1).

The passer-by may engage in dialogue with the stele (Peek, GV 1844, 1845) or the departed (so Leonidas of Tarentum, A.P. vii 163), or both (so Callimachus, *Epigr.* xv and Peek, GV 1842, 1843). Here l.1 arouses expectation of an address to the stele, but l.2 and the content of the reply in ll.3-4 show that converse is with the departed herself. The references to Lethe, the place of the dead and the house of Hades (ll.5, 6 & 8) follow Greek epitaphic convention, and in conjunction with their unremittingly mournful tone recall especially no.34, above, ll.2-4. A. Momigliano, considering the present epitaph (no.38) on its own, urged that its acceptance by the family who ordered it underlines the hellenization of the Leontopolis Jews, even though its sentiments might be those of the writer, possibly a pagan. D.M. Lewis in *CPJ* added, on the other hand, that the literary accomplishment of the epitaph reduces the likelihood that it reflects the patrons' views; they wanted an elegant epigram, but by no means necessarily shared the writer's presuppositions.

This epitaph is not exceptional, however, save in its degree of elegance. Other Jewish patrons could accept verses as mythological as these (to no.34, add nos.31 l.8, 33 ll.5 & 10, 39 l.2) and as mournful (to no.34, add nos.30, 32, 37, 40 which lack the mythological references found here and in no.34, but are equally devoid of words of hope). Probably, therefore, the sentiments of nos.34 and 38 were not widely felt to differ intolerably from those of the Leontopolis Jewish community in general. The more distinctively Jewish and hopeful epitaph of Rachelis (no.36, above) seems to be more truly exceptional (so Zuntz, *JSS* 10 (1965), p.293). Furthermore, the Greek-sounding sentiments voiced here could also have been regarded by patrons as Jewish and scriptural. Equally mournful passages on Hades are found in the LXX (e.g. Job vii 9-10 (no return), xvii 13-16 (no hope); Eccles. ix 10 (no wisdom in Hades); and the series of statements that there is no praise or confession in Hades, Ps. vi 6, cxiii 25 (cv 17), Is. xxxviii 18, Eccles. xvii 27-8). For comparable passages, not including the word *ᾠδῆς*, see Job xiv 1-2, Ps. lxxxvii (lxxxviii) 12-13. Similarly negative interpretations in the LXX of the eternal home and the sleep of death are noted at nos.34, l.4 and 114, l.8. Ecclesiasticus, current in Greek in Egypt from the late second century B.C., expresses national hopes (ii 7-9, xxxv 18-xxxvi 17), but lacks the clearly-

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stated hope of immortality found in the Wisdom of Solomon, and also re-emphasizes the negative statements on Hades from the earlier biblical tradition; compare Ecclus xiv 16 with Eccles. ix 10, and Ecclus xvii 27-8 with Ps. vi 6, etc., cited above. The author's grandson, translating the book for Egyptian Jews, preserved these features of the original.

The conventional Greek sentiments of nos.34 and 38 have contact, therefore, with those of a number of other Leontopolis inscriptions; but they are also congruous with biblical tradition on death and Hades as currently interpreted. This point reinforces the likelihood that they are not unrepresentative of widespread Jewish feeling. From the inscriptions preserved, then, no.38 and several others could be associated with the outlook of Job and Ecclesiastes, continued in Ecclesiasticus; only that of Rachelis answers to the hopes expressed in Wisdom.

1 The first two words seem best taken as an exclamation by the passer-by: 'The stele has a tale to tell.' He goes on to address the departed herself. Compare Callimachus, *Epigr.* xvii 1 Τιμόνῃ. τίς δ' ἔσσι; (the passer-by reads the name on the stone, then speaks to the departed; Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, i, p.581, allows it as possible that this epigram may be a genuine epitaph). μηνστήρ 'informer' here has a feminine form; the verb μηνύω is used of the inscription e.g. at Peek GV 1622, 1624, 1629, 1630, 1632.

3 On the name Arsinoe, see no.33 l.1, above. Aline occurs as a non-Jewish name in Egypt (*CPJ* ii nos.436, 442), but only here in Egyptian Jewish inscriptions; her husband's name, in the full form Θεοδόσιος, was used by Jews (no less than three of the LXX translators, *Letter of Aristeas* 47, 49, 50; *CPJ* 29, 8, 22, mid-second century B.C.) and was also borne by an Alexandrian Samaritan in Philometor's reign (according to Josephus, *Ant.* xiii 75).

4 The Doric φαμισθά, equivalent to φαμισθη, is usually taken as a variant spelling of φαμιστά, fem. sg. nominative of an adjective φαμιστός; this could be taken in the sense of the participle φαμισθεῖσα 'called' (Norsa, *CIJ*) or as meaning 'famous' (*LSJ*, s.v. φαμιστός, noting that the adjective is not found elsewhere, and *Suppl.*, *CPJ*, E. Bernand). The sense 'called' followed in the translation above gives a stronger and neater reply to the demand in l.2. It can be reached by Norsa's method; she rejects the equivalence φαμισθά = ἐφημισθη 'is called' as involving 'hyper-Doricism' ('hyperdorismo'), but a main verb here would strengthen the line, and it may be asked if this alternative is out of the question.

For a district called 'of Onias', no doubt around the temple of Onias, see Josephus, *B.J.* i 190 οἱ τὴν Ὀνίου προσαγορευομένην χώραν κατέχοντες 'those

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occupying the land called "of Onias" ', cf. i 33, vii 426, *Ant.* xii 388 (Philometor gave Onias land in the nome of Heliopolis); Strabo, quoted by Josephus, *Ant.* xiii 287 οἱ ἐκ τῆς 'Ονίου λεγόμενοι 'Ιουδαῖοι 'the Jews known as "from the [land] of Onias" '; E. Bickermann, 'Leontopolis', *EJ* x (1934), 796-7; H. Kees, 'Ονίου, *RE* xviii.i (1939), 477-9; Kasher, *Egypt*, 8-9, 127-35.

5 ποσσαέτης is either masc. used as fem., or an instance of η for ι (Thackeray, *Grammar*, §6,23); δλισθας is a second aorist (of δλισθάνω) with the ending of the first aorist (Thackeray, *ibid.*, §17,1)). κλίμα here is probably 'region' (so *CIJ*, Zuntz in *JSS* 10 (1965), p.292, E. Bernand), as often in Philo (e.g. *Leg.* 283 καθ' ἑκαστον κλίμα τῆς οἰκουμένης) and also in Polybius, Josephus and the N.T. (E. Bernand, citing W. Bauer, W.F. Arndt & F.W. Gingrich, *A Greek-English lexicon of the New Testament* (Cambridge & Chicago, 1957), s.v.), rather than 'slope' (*CPJ*); the 'region of Lethe' is then contrasted with Arsinoe's own homeland (l.4), and paralleled by 'place of the dead' and 'house of Hades' (ll.6 & 8); compare the phrase Λήθης ... χῶρος in the Egyptian metrical epitaph *SEG* viii 799 = E. Bernand, *IM*, no.93, l.4. Lethe is named here only in Leontopolis metrical epitaphs. Tod, 'Epigram', p.102 thinks it doubtful whether Lethe or general 'forgetfulness' is intended. With the shadows, here, compare no.34, above, l.4. The thought of the grave as a shadowy land of forgetting and being forgotten is also biblical (Ps. lxxvii (lxxviii) 12-13 ἐν τάφῳ .. ἐν τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ ... ἐν τῷ σκότει ... ἐν γῇ ἐπιλεησμένῃ).

6 ἱκοσ- for εἰκοσέτης (ει - ι, Thackeray, *Grammar* §6,24; Mayser, *Grammatik*, i.1, §8.3(b)); -ης either masc. for fem. or η for ι, as in ποσσαέτης (l.5). With 'the mournful place of the dead', contrast the more cheerful 'blessed place' at no.36, l.7 (see note), of the grave, merging with the thought of the underworld; here the underworld is envisaged in the gloomy aspect met in no.35 l.4, but the epitaph begins and ends with the thought of the grave.

7 γάμους, accusative of respect; the first letter of (ζ)εύχθην will have been omitted by haplography, in view of the similar pronunciation of σ and ζ (E. Bernand; cf. Mayser, *Grammatik*, i.1, §43). κατελίνπνεες, ν for μ.

9 ἦ for εἴη, compare ἱκοσέτης, l.6 and note. The prayer that the earth may be light is common (Lattimore, *Themes*, 65-8; cf. no.109, below); here it is strengthened by the thought of earth as protectress.

Pediment-topped rectangular stele, 73 x 31 cm., with recessed field. Letter forms: Α Ε Ε Β C C Λ. Numeral: ͵.

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39 (Plate XIII; CPJ iii no.1530a): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): mid-2nd century B.C.— early 2nd century A.D. Stele; epitaph; metrical.

University of Göttingen.

Text follows E. Bernand, *IM* no.16, p.96.

πεντήκοτα τριῶν ἐτέων κύκλον ἦδ' ἀνύσαντα	
αὐτὸς δὲ πανδαμάτωρ ἥρπασεν εἰς Ἀΐδην.	
ὦ χθὼν ἀμμοφανής, οἷον δέμας ἀμφικαλύπτεις	
Ἀβράμου ψυχῆς τοῦ μακαριστοτάτου·	
οὐκ ἀγέραςτος ἔφυ γὰρ ἀνὰ πτόλιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρχῇ	5
πανδῆμῳ ἐθνικῇ ἐστέφετ' ἐν σοφίᾳ·	
δισσῶν γάρ τε τόπων πολιταρχῶν αὐτὸς ἐτεμῶ,	
τὴν διμερῇ δαπάνῃ ἐξανύσας χάρισιν.	
πάντα δέ σοι, ἐπέοιχ' ὅσα τοι, ψυχῇ, πρὶν ἔκκευθες,	
καὶ τέκνων ἀγαθῶν αὖξομεν γενεή.	10
ἀλλὰ σύ, ὦ παροδεῖτα, ἰδὼν ἀγαθοῦ τάφον ἀνδρὸς	
ὃν τε κατευφημῶν τοῖα φράσας ἔπιθι·	
γαῖαν ἔχοις ἐλαφρὰν εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον.	

πεντήκοτα (l.1): *CPJ* πεντήκο(ντα)

αὖξομεν (l.10): *CPJ* αὖξομε(ν) ἢ, following Peek

When he had already accomplished a span of fifty-three years, the all-subduer himself carried him off to Hades. O sandy earth, how notable a body you cover: that which had the soul of Abramos, most fortunate of men. For he was not without honour in the city, but was crowned in his wisdom with a communal magistracy over all the people.

'For you were honoured by holding a city magistracy in two places, fulfilling the double expense with gracious liberality. Until you hid yourself in the grave all things that befitted you were yours, dear soul, and we, a family of good children, increase them.'

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‘But you, passer-by, beholding the grave of a good man,
depart with these favourable words for him: “May you find
the earth light upon you for all time”.’

E. Miller, ‘Inscriptions grecques’, *RevArch* 30 (1875), pp.149-153; G. Kaibel, *EG* (1878), no.430; P. Jacobsthal, ‘Grabepigramm aus Ägypten’, *Hermes* 46 (1911), pp.318-320 (from the stone); A.J. Reinach, ‘Bulletin annuel d’épigraphie grecque’, *RevEp* n.s.1 (1913), p.364; *SB* i (1915), p.635 no.5765; L. Robert, *Hellenica* i (1940), pp.18-24; J. & L. Robert, *BE* (1940), p.197; (1941), p.172; W. Peek, *GV* (1955), p.232 no.850; L. Robert, Review of Peek, *Gnomon* 31 (1959), p.11; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.162 no.1530a; E. Bernand, *IM* (1969), p.95-100 no.16, pl.xx (photograph).

A. Wilhelm, ‘Drei griechische Epigramme aus Aegypten’, *Mélanges Maspero* ii (1937), p.276; A. Wilhelm, ‘Zur Syntax des Griechischen’, *Nachrichten...Göttingen* N.F.3 (1939), pp.139-40, 143-7; L. Robert, *Hellenica*, xi-xii (1960), pp.384-5 with pl.xii, 1 (photograph); G. Zuntz, Review of *CPJ* iii, *JSS* 10 (1965), p.292; J. Bingen, Review of E. Bernand’s *IM*, *CE* 45 (1969), pp.378-9; S.M. Ruozzi Sala, *Lexicon nominum semiticorum* (1974), p.5; N.G. Cohen, ‘Jewish names as cultural indicators in antiquity’, *JSJ* 7 (1976), p.100 n.11; U. Fischer, *Eschatologie und Jenseitserwartung* (1978), p.238; M. Hengel, *Jews, Greeks and barbarians* (1980), p.101 n.55; A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (1985), p.125; p.284 n.69; L.H. Kant, ‘Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin’, *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 n.43, p.680 n.57, p.685 n.88, p.693 n.139; M. Hengel, ‘The interpenetration of Judaism and Hellenism’, *CHJ* ii (1989), p.204 n.3.

The name Abramós (see below) makes it extremely probable that this is a Jewish epitaph. The provenance of the stone is unknown. The first publication was from a squeeze naming Cairo as an indication of origin, and L. Robert (*Hellenica* i [1940]) showed that, in view of the name of the deceased and the content of the inscription, it was very likely to be one of the series of Leontopolis metrical epitaphs. ‘The form of the stele almost suffices to assure its provenance’ from Tell el-Yehoudieh (E. Bernand, p.97; compare his remark on the form of no.40, below).

The reader of the inscription as it now stands sees at the foot of the stele for a second time the first four words of l.1, πενήκστα...κύκλον, cut in larger characters which fill one line of the field completely, but facing upwards and in reverse order as regards the rest of the text. After completing this line the stone-cutter evidently turned the stele upside-down and began again,

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presumably because he saw that smaller characters would be needed if the inscription was to fit the field. This accident seems to show that, in this case, there had been no preliminary painting of the text with a brush; comparably, the probably late third-century B.C. Memphis metrical epitaph published by P.M. Fraser & P. Maas, *JEA* 41 (1955) 115-118 = E. Bernand, *IM*, no.32 was begun on one side of the stone (where the first word only was cut), but the stone was then turned upside-down and the epitaph was begun again and completed on the other side (L. Robert, *Hellenica* xi-xii (1960), quoted by E. Bernand, *IM*, p.97 and n.3). In this case the surface first used was probably found unsuitable (Fraser & Maas, p.115); in the inscription as completed there is of course no trace of the new start, by contrast with the epitaph of Abramós. More closely comparable in this respect is no.30, above, where an inscription in the middle of the stele was given up and started again at the top.

The likely range of dates for Tell el-Yehoudieh epitaphs is mid-second century B.C. to early second century A.D. (see nos.31-2, above); in this case E. Bernand judges that the lettering points to the imperial period. The deceased was a Jewish magistrate, as may also have been the case in the similarly-worded but fragmentary no.30, above.

The departed is addressed by his children in ll.7-10, the passer-by in ll.11-13. The epitaph can perhaps best be understood as the voice of the stele (ll.1-6), impelling the children who set it up to address Abramós (7-10); they or the stele then ask for kind words from the passer-by. For dialogue in epitaphs, see no.38, above. In Kaibel, *EG* 580 = Peek, *GV* 1546, cited at l.9, below, a couplet spoken by the stele comparably introduces a speech from the chief mourner. Words from the stele similarly introduce a speech – in these instances from the departed – in nos.32, 35, 36 and 37, above. It therefore seems reasonable to understand ll.1-6 as spoken by the stele. The concluding lines to the passer-by (11-13) might come from Abramós himself, like the request from the departed for a laudatory lament in no.35, ll.8-9; but they keep to the third person when speaking of the departed, and are more naturally ascribed to the children or the stele. In general, the stele and the departed are of course given very similar things to say; compare the classification in Peek, *GV*, pp.xix ('I. Formen der Vorstellung des Toten (des Denkmals)'), xx ('IV.1(c). Das Denkmal (der Tote) fordert zur Betrachtung oder zur Entgegennahme des Berichtes auf').

1 πενήκοτα: the omission of ν before τ probably reflects pronunciation, and also occurs in LXX MSS (Thackeray, *Grammar*, §7.36). For the use of κύκλος, compare no.33, l.7, above. The harsh elision of the second syllable of

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ἥδη is clumsy, but preserves the metre.

2 The unnamed 'all-subduer' is possibly Time, who has this epithet in the Egyptian epitaph Peek, GV 1198 = E. Bernand, *IM* no.75, l.12, and a late inscribed epigram from Ephesus, Kaibel, *EG* no.1050, l.4, and is comparably called ὁ πᾶ(ντ) ἐφορῶν in Peek, GV 1150 = E. Bernand, *IM*, 35 l.13 (see his note) (so E. Miller, cited and followed by E. Bernand; Fischer, *Eschatologie*, p.238); but 'it is fate rather than time which is usually regarded as man's master' (M.N. Tod, 'A Greek epigram from Egypt', *JEA* 27 (1941), 99-105, on this line, in connection with his fresh publication of the epitaph later Peek GV 1198, cited above). Further, the portentous avoidance of a specific name here suggests as probable an allusion to a supreme divine power (Kaibel, *EG* p.652 makes the subject here simply 'a divinity' (*deus*)); so Philoctetes's departure from Lemnos is governed by Moira, the counsel of his friends, 'and the all-subduing deity' ὁ πανδαμάτωρ δαίμων, doubtless Zeus (Sophocles, *Phil.* 1467; cf. *Ant.* 604-10, on the omnipotent Zeus). Such a reference to a supreme deity could of course readily be understood in the terms of Judaism (see Letter of Aristeas 16 on Zeus as a Greek name for the same almighty God whom the Jews worship, and compare the frequency of παντοκράτωρ as a rendering of Shaddai and Sabaoth in the later books of the LXX). Thus the verb δαμάζω is used of divine punishment by the god of the Jews in Sib. iii 501, continuing from Homer and classical Greek its close association (see *LSJ*, s.v.) with death (*Od.* xxi 213 'if the god subdue δαμάσῃ the proud suitors beneath me'; Euripides, *Alc.* 127 οἱ δαμασθέντες 'the subdued' = 'the dead'). Comparably, πανδαμάτωρ itself occurs in second-century Christian prayer and hymnody as an epithet of God (Acts of John 75) and Christ (Clem.Alex., *Paed. hymn.* 12); in these passages it suits contextual allusions to the taming of wild creatures, but the fact that it could be adopted as an epithet of God and Christ remains notable. Here then, the avoidance of a name would probably suggest a supreme deity, and a Jewish reader might think of the Almighty as the bringer of death (death and life: Deut. xxxii 39 ἐγὼ εἰμὶ ... ἐγὼ ἀποκτενῶ καὶ ζῆν ποιήσω, I Kingdoms (I Sam.) ii 6 κύριος θανατοῖ καὶ ζωογονεῖ, καταγεί εἰς ᾗδου καὶ ἀνάγει, cf. Tobit xiii 2, Wisd. xvi 13; life and death: Ecclus xi 14, xvii 1).

3 ἀμμοφανής, first attested in this inscription, may come from contemporary epic (P. Jacobsthal). The *sandy* earth is taken by L. Robert, *Hellenica* i, p.21, as indicating a grave near the desert, such as could be envisaged at Leontopolis. At Tell el-Yehoudieh 'the cemetery, as often happens in Egypt, is at the limit of the cultivated land' (E. Bernand). Compare the Sakkara epitaph of Crocodilus 'My body lies in the tomb μεγάλῳ

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ὕπὸ ψάμμῳ beneath a mass of sand' (E. Bernand, *IM* no.81, l.4) and the reference to sand near the tomb of Battus at Cyrene in Catullus, vii 3-6.

ἀμφικαλύπτεις for -εις, the common interchange of ι for ει (as in no.31, l.6, above) found also in the LXX uncials (Thackeray, *Grammar*, §6,24).

4 The awkward ll.3b-4 might be rendered literally 'you cover what kind of a body of the soul of the most fortunate Abramós'; l.4, made up of genitives, depends entirely on l.3 δέμας.

Abramos is the usual form of the name of the patriarch Abraham in Josephus, and occurs as the name of a contemporary Jew in Letter of Aristeas 49 (one of the LXX translators), and in ostraca and papyri from the second century B.C. onwards (*CPJ* 50.3, 412.6, 365.1, 471.1). This Greek form of the name contrasts with Ἀβραάμ, usual in the LXX after Gen. xvii 5, and in Philo, but no doubt reflects the currency as a Jewish name, at the beginning of the Ptolemaic period, of אַבְרָם (as in the Hebrew text of Genesis up to xvii 5, and the Aramaic Genesis Apocryphon, based on this portion of Genesis); this form occurs applied to a contemporary Jew in the probably third-century Aramaic ostrakon (also including the names Nathan, Johanan, Shabbethith, and תְּהוֹדוֹרָס = Theodorus) published by Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, ii, pp.243-8 and Sachau, *Elephantine*, i, pp.230-3. The un-hellenized Greek Ἀβραμ, exactly corresponding to this Semitic form, occurs in *SB* 6184 = no.154, below, and in the epitaph of an Egyptian Jew found in the region of Jamnia (Appendix 2 no.152, below), and is the usual form of the patriarch's name in LXX Genesis up to xvii 5. It occasionally appears in LXX MSS elsewhere (Gen. xx 2, 14; Ecclesiasticus xliv 19), and in IV Maccabees there are similar variations between double and single α in adjectives formed from the name Abraham (ix 21, xviii 1, 20); these variants probably reflect the continuing currency of the shorter form of the name. The form Abram(os) is derived from an Iranian non-Jewish name such as Abradatas by N.G. Cohen, 'The names of the translators in the Letter of Aristeas', *JSJ* 15 (1984), 35-6. Cohen, stressing the great rarity of the name as a contemporary Jewish personal name in Greek Jewish literature and in Talmud and Midrash, urges that Aramaic influence behind the short Greek form is unlikely (but the Aramaic and Greek material from Egypt suggests such influence), and that the short form was borne by non-Jews in some instances cited above, especially *SB* 6184 (but compare Tcherikover's note) and *CPJ* 412 (but note that this document also includes the probably Jewish names Sambataios and Dositheos); and in the present epitaph it is doubtful, she suggests, whether the name had Jewish associations for its bearer ('Jewish names as cultural indicators in antiquity', pp.99-112 and n.11)). It seems more likely that the

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papyri and ostraca complement the Letter of Aristaeas as evidence for Jewish usage of the name Abram(os), and that Josephus's choice of it for his biblical paraphrase confirms that it was recognized as a form of the name Abraham. The most natural inference from the evidence, then, is that Abram(os) in this epitaph is a Jewish name, recognized by Jews as that of the patriarch.

The characteristically Greek distinction and connection between body and soul met in 11.3-4 was familiar among Jews (Wisdom ix 15, Mt. x 28), and appears with the Homeric δέμας used here in Theodotus, Frag.8 (ap. Eusebius, *P.E.* ix 22.10-11), 1.16 ἀντὶ δὲ ψυχῇ δέμας εὐθὺς (on which C.R. Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish authors, II, Poets* (Atlanta, 1989), p.203 n.146, notes that δέμας, not in LXX, is frequent in Apollonius Rhodius and is found in Moschus).

5-6 'City' here is doubtless 'civic life', but as in no.30, 1.6 would suit the small city founded by Onias (Josephus, *B.J.* i 33). Abram(os)'s magistracy (see especially L. Robert, *Hellenica* i) might have brought him the title of ἀρχὼν or politarch (the noun corresponding to the verb used in 1.7); both were current in Egypt in the first and second centuries A.D. (Kasher, pp.125-7). It was a communal or 'national' office (ἐθνικὴ), exercised 'over all the people' (πάνδημος); the two adjectives combined suit a position in a place largely or wholly inhabited by the Jewish ἔθνος (for this term applied to Jews see Philo, *Leg.* 133, and other passages cited by Kasher, p.127). Abram(os) may have been 'crowned' not just figuratively, but by a vote such as seems to be reflected in no.18, 1.14, above. On political 'wisdom', see the note on no.31, 1.4, above.

7 The 'two places' will have been Leontopolis and another Jewish settlement nearby, such as is suggested by the mention of Teberkythis in no.98, and by the recovery of Jewish epitaphs from Demerdash (see the note on no.106, below).

ἐταμῶ = ἐταμῶ (εἰ for long ι, Mayser, *Grammatik*, i.1, §9.2(a)).

8 The plural χάριον suggests generous 'bounties'.

9-10 Since Jacobsthal's revision of the text from the stone this couplet has received two principal interpretations. (i) 'Before you died you [had] all that was fitting, and an increasing family of good children' (Jacobsthal, taking the verb in 1.10 as a present participle, αὐξομένη). (ii) 'All that was fitting before you died, we, a family of good children, are increasing' (Wilhelm, taking the verb in 1.10 as present indicative, αὐξομεν); followed, with variations of reading and restoration noted below, by Peek, *CPJ* and E. Bernand).

The last letter of αὐξομεν (1.10) was read from the stone as η by

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Jacobsthal and by E. Ziebarth (Wilhelm, 'Syntax', p.145), but E. Bernand judges from the photograph published by L. Robert that it is in fact *v*. Jacobsthal (αἰξομέ(ν)η) and Peek (αἰξομε(ν) ἥ) assumed that *v* had been omitted by haplography before the closely similar *η*, Wilhelm (αἰξομε(ν)) that *η* was an error for *v*. If E. Bernand's reading is accepted, the stone gives a present indicative, but it is still possible to conjecture that *η* has been omitted *after* the closely similar *v*, and so to reach Jacobsthal's present participle, or Peek's article before γενη.

In favour of interpretation (i) is its close connection of this couplet with ll.5-8; these deal with Abramós's civic honours, l.9 then mentions other 'befitting' marks of esteem or prosperity which he received, and l.10 specifies, among these, his family. Against (i), Wilhelm ('Syntax', 143-5) noted that the mention of burial at the end of l.9 suggests that l.10 deals with the time *after* death; that 'increasing', the sense given to the participle by Jacobsthal, could in all likelihood only apply to grandchildren, since Abramós was 53; and that the couplet has no main verb, depending entirely on ἦν understood after πάντα (l.9). Instead, he proposed (ii), on the basis of the use of ἀέξω, αἰξάνω for the 'increase' of fame or virtue of the deceased by those who erect monuments (Kaibel, *EG* 822 (Syrus, second century B.C.) στήλην δ' ἔστησεν θυγάτηρ ἐπὶ σήματι τήνδε | αἰξουσα φήμην πατρὸς εὐκλεῖ γραφῇ, studied with other texts by Wilhelm, 'Syntax', 139-40). The couplet is then strengthened by a main verb, used in other epitaphs in a sense close to that suggested here; note also the similar literary use of ἀέξω and αἰξάνω to mean 'exalt', 'glorify' or 'honour' (e.g. Sophocles, *O.T.* 1092), as in the transferred sense of μεγαλύνω (Latin *magnifico*, older English 'magnify').

What could have 'befitted' (l.9) is somewhat clearer in two epitaphs with ἐπέοικε adduced by Kaibel, which further support interpretation (ii). In both cases the verb refers to 'fitting' duty and kindness towards the deceased performed by those responsible for the epitaph. Care and attendance at the death-bed are specified in Theocritus *Epigr.* xi = *A.P.* vii 661, ll.5-6, beginning πάντων ὧν ἐπέοικε λάχεν (Gow, *Theocritus*, i, pp.246-7, and on the text, ii, p.537); but particularly comparable with ll.9-10 πρὶν ἔκευθες | καί... is the reference to 'fitting' kindness *both* in the past *and* after death in an epitaph for a former slave, Kaibel *EG* 580 = Peek *GV* 1546, ll.4-8, beginning δέχου | ὕστατα δὲ, φίλε, δῶρα· τὰ δ' ἄλλα τοι ὅσσα ἔοικε | καὶ πάρος Εὐδαίμων δῶκε καὶ οἰχομένῳ 'Take these last gifts, friend; and whatever else is fitting Eudaemon has given in the past, as now [he gives] to you when you are dead' (discussed by Wilhelm, 'Syntax', pp.144-5).

In ll.9-10, therefore, the family say that they are now 'increasing' (by this

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epitaph of praise) the 'fitting' honour received by Abramós up to the end of his life (probably meant to include the attention they themselves showed him in his last days).

Address to another person as ψυχῇ is common in literary usage (e.g. Sophocles, *Phil.* 714), and here is perhaps suggested by the 'heart-warming' character of the honour in mind.

Acceptance of ἀῤξομεν γενεῖ as the text presupposes that the writer of the epitaph admitted a trochee in place of a dactyl at the beginning of the second half of the pentameter; Wilhelm, 'Syntax', pp.144-5 notes other instances, and prefers this text (reached, on the reading he accepts, by a correction) because of the general avoidance of the article in verse. Peek, however, preferred to understand ἡ as the article, assuming that ν should be inserted before it (by error, in his apparatus this view is ascribed to Wilhelm), and regaining the usual metre. There is a good case for Peek's text, which on the basis of E. Bernand's reading (see above) would be represented by ἀῤξομεν (ἡ), because the pentameters here otherwise consistently begin the second half with a dactyl, and the writer does not eschew the article, particularly perhaps where it might help the metre (ll.4, 8, 13). Bingen, *CE* 45, pp.378-9, urges that there will certainly have been a dactyl here.

11 ἀγαθοῦ: compare Solomon, 'good' among the multitude, and endowed with a 'good soul' (Wisd. viii 15, 19).

13 The last line is a second pentameter; Kaibel, *EG* p.703, accordingly classes this epigram among a large number in which elegiac couplets have unusual admissions of hexameters or pentameters. For the formula, see no.109.

Undecorated stele, 37 x 48 cm., with recessed field. Letter forms: Α Ε ° □ √ Ω ΩΛ.

40 (Plate XIV; *CIJ* ii no.1539): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh) (?): A.D.8. Stele; epitaph; metrical.

Alexandria Museum.

Text follows E. Bernand, *IM* no.95, p.372, with some changes of punctuation.

ἐμὶ Μαχάων | τοῦ Σαββα|ταίου,

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τε|λευτῶ ἐτῶν | πέντε.

Φιλ|ουμένη | μήτηρ ἀκθό|μενος

μογε|ρῶς. τοίνυν, ὦ πάρο|δοι,

δακρύσατε· || (ἔτους) λζ' Καίσαρ(ος), Φαμ(ενὸθ) ιη'.

ἀκθόμενος (Il.7-8): *CIJ* ἀκθόμεν ις (apparently a misprint), *CPJ* ἀκτόμενος (following Breccia)

I am Machaon, son of Sabbataios; I come to my end aged five years. Philumene, my mother, grieves bitterly. Therefore, passers-by, weep. In the 37th year of Caesar, Phamenoth 18.

G. Botti, *Catalogue des monuments* (1900), p.265 no.57; S. de Ricci, 'Bulletin épigraphique de l'Égypte romaine', *APF* 2 (1903), p.430 no.6; S. de Ricci, 'Lettre à M. le secrétaire perpétuel', *CRAI* (1905), p.145; E. Breccia, *Iscrizioni* (1911), p.169 no.328; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.446 no.1539; *SB* v (1955), pp.335-336 no.8837 and add. p.550; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.166 no.1539; E. Bernand, *IM* (1969), pp.372-373 no.95, pl.xxv (photograph; from the stone).

G. Botti, *Notice des monuments* (1893), p.192 no.2531; W. Crönert, 'Zu griechischen Inschriften aus Ägypten', *JÖAI* 12 (1909) Beiblatt cols.206-7; G. Delling, 'Biblisch-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten', *BSAC* 22 (1974-5), p.27; U. Fischer, *Eschatologie und Jenseitserwartung* (1978), p.238; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.117 no.494.

This is the epitaph of the son of a Jewish father, as shown by the name Sabbataios (see the note on no.58). The stone was bought for the Cairo Museum in 1887 (details in E. Bernand), but was among the exhibits of the Alexandria Museum described by Botti in 1893. Its provenance is unknown, but 'the form of the stele, its particularly barren appearance, and the Jewish character of the inscription strongly suggest that it is from Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh), a site from which many inscriptions have been found on sale commercially' (E. Bernand, p.373). The date corresponds to 14th March, A.D.8.

As in nos.83 and 37 (see note) the epitaph includes metrical portions, mainly from elegiacs (so Crönert, who found a different metre in no.37 and did not comment on no.83); but, again as in no.83, the attempt to be metrical

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has not been fully carried out. εἰς Μαχάων (l.1) is a dactylic dimeter which could form the end of a hexameter, ἀκθόμενος μογερώς (ll.3-4) a hemiepes which could begin a hexameter (so Crönert) or form one half of a pentameter. Crönert found the end to be iambic, but the first syllable of δακρύσατε could be long, as in the elegiacs Peek GV 1248, l.1 (Rhodes, 3rd-2nd cent. B.C.; for other examples see the inv. sg. in GV 1237, l.1 and 1242, l.1), and τοῖνον ... δακρύσατε (ll.4-5) could then form the first four feet of a hexameter.

1 By the time of this epitaph the name Machaon, one of 'the two sons of Asclepius, good physicians', who tended the Greek host before Troy (*Iliad* ii 731-2) had become proverbial for medical skill (e.g. Propertius ii 1,59) and could be used poetically in general for a doctor ('dimitte Machaonas omnes', 'dismiss all your doctors', Martial ii 16,5). The name is not common; Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, cites one other occurrence, and Fraser & Matthews note two occurrences only, both of the second century B.C. There seems at least a possibility that this epitaph attests a medical family.

3 Philumene, here only in the Jewish material surveyed in *CPJ*, is often found elsewhere (many instances in Fraser & Matthews), including Christian Rome in the second century A.D. (the prophetess Philumene, see Rhodo in Eusebius, *H.E.* v 13.2; Tertullian, *Praescr.* xxx). ἀκθόμενος = ἀχθόμενος (χ - κ, a common change, see Thackeray, *Grammar*, §7,7). The masculine is used, despite the feminine gender of the noun, in accord with an increasing preference for the masculine of the participle (Blass, Debrunner & Funk, §136).

On the injunction to weep, see no.34, above.

Rectangular stele, 33 x 24 cm., with inscribed frame. Letter forms: A E C Ω.

41 (*CIJ* ii no.1452): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh); necropolis: mid-2nd century B.C.— early 1st century A.D. (12 B.C.?). Stele; epitaph. Cairo Museum.

Text follows J.G. Milne, *Greek inscriptions* no.9214, p.62.

Μίκκος Νεθάνεως | πασίφιλε χρηστὲ ἄωρε | χαῖρε ὡς ἐτῶν λε'. |
(ἔτους) ιθ' Φαῶφι ια'.

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l.4: Naville (ἔρους) ιε', Φαῶφι ιδ'

Mikkos, son of Nethanis, friend of all, excellent one, untimely dead, farewell. About 35 years old. In the 19th year, Phaophi 11.

E. Naville, 'Report of the necropolis of Tell-el-Yahoodieh', *The Academy* 31 (1887), p.296 (from the stone); S. Reinach, 'Chronique d'Orient', *RevArch* 10 (1887), p.106; E. Naville, 'The mound of the Jew and the city of Onias', *Egypt Exploration Fund*, 7th Memoir (1890), p.14 and pl.III C (facsimile; from the stone); J.G. Milne, *Greek inscriptions* (1905), p.62 no.9214 (from the stone); *SB* i (1915), p.68 no.720; H.Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), p.285 no.38 = *KS* i (1958), p.444; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.383 no.1452; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.146 no.1452; A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (1985), p.129 (facsimile).

E. Naville, 'Les fouilles du Delta pendant l'hiver de 1887', *Recueil de Travaux* 10 (1888), p.55; S. Reinach, 'Chronique d'Orient', *RevArch* 11 (1888), p.390; F. Ll. Griffith, 'The antiquities of Tell el-Yahoudieh', *Egypt Exploration Fund*, 7th Memoir (1890), p.52; J. Oehler, 'Epigraphische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Judentums', *MGWJ* 53 (1909), p.452 no.233; P.M. Fraser, 'Greek inscriptions 1952-3', *JEA* 40 (1954), p.124; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; S.M. Ruozi Sala, *Lexicon nominum semiticorum* (1974), pp.27, 29; G. Dellling, 'Biblisch-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten', *BSAC* 22 (1974-5), p.7 n.5, p.28; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.274 n.1; Schürer revised iii.i (1986), p.146 n.33; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.100; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 n.36.

Milne dated the inscription to the first century A.D., in which case the reign would be that of Tiberius (A.D.32), but other writers have accepted that this and other regnal years from the same site refer to Augustus. One metrical inscription (no.30, above) is dated to 117 B.C. All prose inscriptions which can be precisely dated except no.96 are from Augustus' reign, but some may be Ptolemaic or post-Augustan. The lack of adequate information about the contexts in which most of the stelae were found makes dating very difficult. This one is from the South Cemetery, the oldest part of the site (Griffith, p.52). 96 and 63 B.C. would be possible Ptolemaic dates.

Naville, followed by *CIJ*, took the names to be hellenized forms of the biblical Micah and Nathan or Nethaniah. Ruozi-Sala also derives Nethanis

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from Nathan, and tentatively suggests a link between Mikkos and the biblical Michael. *CPJ* and Delling agree about Nethanis, but not about Mikkos, which Fraser notes was a common Greek name (meaning 'small'; five examples are given by Pape, *Wörterbuch*, s.v.). Nethanis is found in the feminine form Nethanin in no.88 below. Mikkos does not occur elsewhere in Egypt in a Jewish context as a name, although there is an epitaph from Beth She'arim (Schwabe & Lifshitz no.28) for Ἰωσήφ ὁ μικκός.

πασιφίλος (1.2) is found in literary Greek only as a personal name, but it is common in Egyptian epitaphs, and the vast majority of occurrences are among inscriptions said by *CIJ* to come from Tell el-Yehoudieh – 26 out of 29 cited by B. Boyaval ('Quelques remarques sur les épithètes funéraires', pp.226-7); this is also noted by C. Spicq, 'Le lexique de l'amour' p.32, who has 25 Jewish examples. *SB* provides 6 examples from non-Jewish contexts (nos.619, 5955, 5974, 6229, 6234, 7837), all of which follow the same pattern as this inscription: a list of adjectives in which πασιφίλος often occurs along with χρηστός and ἄωρος, and a farewell, χαῖρε. A slight variant is found in the use of φίλε πᾶσι in one inscription (A. Dain, *Inscriptions grecques du musée du Louvre* (1933), pp.135-6 no.154; the editor notes the similarity to inscriptions from Tell el-Yehoudieh; other variants are discussed by M.N. Tod, *ABSA* 46 (1951), p.188). πασι[φίλη] is restored in a Jewish inscription from Rome (*CIJ* 158), and the Latin equivalent *omnium* (sic) *amicus* also occurs at Rome (*CIJ* 210).

ἄωρος (1.2) is common in epitaphs from other Egyptian sites (Boyaval, pp.226-7; it is the most popular adjective of all in the necropolis at Kom Abu Billu), and is by no means confined to the very young. The oldest Egyptian Jews about whom it is used are a woman from Demerdash aged about 35 (no.106, below), and a man (?) of 50 (no.130). At Kom Abu Billu it is applied to a woman of 82 (Boyaval, p.229). It occurs twice in the LXX: Wisd. iv 5 applies it to branches broken off before maturity, at the opening of an epitaph-like passage on the early death of a righteous man, and Is. lxxv 20 contrasts ἄωρος and πρεσβύτης. Philo, *Opif.* 104 and Clem.Alex., *Stromata* vi 16.144 quote a poem of Solon, who says that someone who died in the tenth (and last) of the 'ages of man' would not be ἄωρος.

The use of χαῖρε (1.3) is very frequent in Egyptian epitaphs of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, both Jewish and non-Jewish, and in fact throughout the Greek-speaking world (M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca* iii, p.150). It does not seem to occur in Jewish inscriptions from anywhere else; the closest parallel is the formula τῷ λαῷ χαῖρειν which was sometimes used in Thessaly (*CIJ* i 699-702, 704-8; no.144, below). Epitaphs from Sidon dated

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to the 2nd-4th centuries A.D. use similar formulae, most commonly $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\tau\grave{\epsilon}$ καὶ ἔλυσε $\chi\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon$, often followed by an age at death introduced by $\zeta\eta\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ (E. Renan (ed.), *Mission de Phénicie* (Paris, 1864), pp.381-5). The favourite formula in Egypt is $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\tau\grave{\epsilon}$ (or $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\tau\eta$) $\chi\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon$, with the name of the deceased: SB i has over 30 examples of the use of this phrase alone in non-Jewish epitaphs, and another 9 of its use along with other epithets, and Guarducci (p.152) comments on its popularity generally in Hellenistic and Roman times. Its adoption at Tell el-Yehoudieh is evidence of the Jewish community's assimilation of Egyptian epigraphic habits. At Beth She'arim, in comparison, the expression used in a similar way was $\epsilon\lambda\upsilon\theta\epsilon\iota$.

$\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ (I.3), applied to the age of the deceased, is a distinctive feature of Tell el-Yehoudieh inscriptions; according to Boyaval ('Remarques sur les indications d'âges', pp.224-5), it is used on 78% of Tell el-Yehoudieh inscriptions which give an age at death, but only 25% at Kom Abu Billu, and much less at other sites. There are also signs of age-rounding, with a marked tendency to give ages ending in 0 and 5 (Boyaval, pp.226-7, and see Age at Death Index, below). However, $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ is not applied particularly to 'rounded' ages: taking all Egyptian Jewish inscriptions which give an age at death of 20 or more, 35 end in 0 or 5 and 19 do not; 21 of the 'rounded' and 13 of the 'unrounded' ages use $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$, so it is applied in roughly equal proportions to both categories. The use of $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ with the ages of very young children whose ages can hardly have been in doubt (as in no.96) was also noted by G. Zuntz (*JSS* 10, p.290). It seems therefore that if $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ is anything more than an 'irrelevant formula' (Zuntz), it is used not to indicate an approximate age, but merely to show that the deceased had not lived for exactly the given number of years, but some months more (or less). The question of age-rounding in Egyptian inscriptions and papyri, less pronounced than in other parts of the Roman Empire, is discussed by R. Duncan-Jones, 'Age-rounding in Egypt', *ZPE* 33 (1979), pp.169-77; he also notes a tendency in Egypt to give ages ending with 6, but there is no trace of this in the Jewish inscriptions.

Pediment-topped rectangular limestone stele, 48 x 41 cm., with a column on each side of field and acroteria. Letter forms: A E/E C O.

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42 (CIJ ii no.1453): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh); necropolis: mid-2nd century B.C.– early 1st century A.D. Stele; epitaph. Cairo Museum.

Text follows J.G. Milne, *Greek inscriptions*, no.9254, p.61.

Ἐλεάζαρε | ἄωρε χρηστὲ | πασίφιλε | ὥς (ἐτῶν) κ'. Με[χείρ ..]
or Με[σορή ..]

l.1 EAEAZIAPE in *CIJ* majuscules (misprint)

l.4: Naville (1887) (ἐτῶν) ικ' (ιβ'?), Naville (1890) (ἐτῶν) κ' μ(νημῶν) ε'

Eleazar, untimely dead, excellent one, friend of all. About 20 years old. Mecheir or Mesore ...

E. Naville, 'Report of the necropolis of Tell-el-Yahoodieh', *The Academy* 31 (1887), p.296 (from the stone); S. Reinach, 'Chronique d'Orient', *RevArch* 10 (1887), p.106; 11 (1888), p.390; E. Naville, 'The mound of the Jew and the city of Onias', *Egypt Exploration Fund*, 7th Memoir (1890), p.14 and pl.III D (facsimile; from the stone); J.G. Milne, *Greek inscriptions* (1905), p.61 no.9254 (from the stone); *SB* i (1915), p.68 no.719; H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), p.285 no.36 = *KS* i (1958), p.443; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.384 no.1453; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.146 no.1453; A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (1985), p.129 (facsimile).

E. Naville, 'Les fouilles du Delta pendant l'hiver de 1887', *Recueil de Travaux* 10 (1888), p.55; F. Ll. Griffith, 'The antiquities of Tell-el-Yahoudieh', *Egypt Exploration Fund*, 7th Memoir (1890), p.52; J. Oehler, 'Epigraphische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Judentums', *MGWJ* 53 (1909), p.452 no.233; L. Robert, *Hellenica* i (1940), p.22 n.7; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; S.M. Ruozi Sala, *Lexicon nominum semiticorum* (1974), p.13; G. Delling, 'Biblisch-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten', *BSAC* 22 (1974-5), p.9; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.274 n.1; Schürer revised iii.i (1986), p.146 n.33; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.100.

The inscription comes from the South Cemetery, the oldest part of the site (Griffith, p.52). The name Eleazaros and the variants Elazaros and Lazarus are found several times (see Names Index). It occurs without the Greek

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ending in Cyrenaica (see Cyrenaic Index). Eleazar (Hebrew אֱלֶעָזָר) is the name of a number of characters in the Bible, notably Aaron's son who succeeded his father as High Priest; hence its subsequent use as a priestly name. The LXX uses the hellenized form Eleazaros only in Macc., although the Letter of Aristeas (50) applies it to one of the LXX translators.

χρηστός (1.2) is the most commonly used adjective in the necropoleis at both Tell el-Yehoudieh and Alexandria (Boyaval, 'Quelques remarques sur les épithètes funéraires', pp.226-7), although it is usually found in the formula χρηστὸν χαῖρε (see no.41, above).

Rectangular limestone stele, 43 x 25 cm., with recessed field, topped by a truncated pediment. Letter forms: Α Ε Ι C ϕ Ω.

43 (CIJ ii no.1454): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh); necropolis: A.D.5 (?). Stele; epitaph.

Cairo Museum.

Text follows D.M. Lewis, *CPJ* iii no.1454, p.146 (based on Milne's reading); in 1.9 J.G. Milne, *Greek inscriptions* no.9218, p.60 is followed.

Βαρχίας Βαρ|χίου ἄλυπε | χρηστὸν χα|ῖρε· ὡς ἐτ|ῶν ν'. || (ἔτους)
λε' Χουάχ α'. | χαῖρε ὑπὸ γυν|αικὸς καὶ τέ|κνων τ[....]
|λωνα[....]| |εμμε[....]| |γ[.....]

τέκνων (ll.7-8, following Milne & Naville): *CPJ* τέκ(ν)ων, *CIJ* τέ(κ)νων
λωνα[....] (1.10): Milne, Lietzmann, λων λ[.....]; *CIJ* λων λ or α
γ[.....] (1.12): Lietzmann σ[...], *CIJ* ιε or ιγ

Barchias, son of Barchias, who caused pain to none, excellent one, farewell. About 50 years old. In the 35th year, Choiak 1. Farewell from your wife and children

E. Naville, 'The mound of the Jew and the city of Onias', *Egypt Exploration Fund*, 7th Memoir (1890), p.14 and pl.IV E (facsimile; from the stone); J.G. Milne, *Greek inscriptions* (1905), p.60 no.9218 (from the stone); *SB* i (1915), p.68 no.717; H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), pp.284-5 no.34 = *KS* i (1958), p.443; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.384-385 no.1454; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.146 no.1454; A. Kasher, *The Jews in*

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Hellenistic and Roman Egypt (1985), p.128 (facsimile).

E. Naville, 'Les fouilles du Delta pendant l'hiver de 1887', *Recueil de Travaux* 10 (1888), p.55; E. Naville, 'Report of the necropolis of Tell-el-Yahoodieh', *The Academy* 31 (1887), p.296; S. Reinach, 'Chronique d'Orient', *RevArch* 10 (1887), p.106; 11 (1888), p.390; L. Robert, *Hellenica* i (1940), p.22 n.7; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; S.M. Ruozi Sala, *Lexicon nominum semiticorum* (1974), p.11; G. Delling, 'Biblisch-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten', *BSAC* 22 (1974-5), p.9; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.275; Schürer revised iii.i (1986), p.146 n.33; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.100; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 n.36.

The last ruler before Augustus to achieve a 35th year was Ptolemy IX Soter II (Lathyros) in 83/2 B.C., so the Augustan date is probable but not certain. Lietzmann, followed by *CIJ*, derived the name Barchias from the Hebrew ברכיָא; Barchias is the Greek version of this name in LXX Neh. iii 30; cf. no.15 above. ἄλυπος (l.1), 'causing no pain', is not a particularly Jewish term; B. Boyaval ('Quelques remarques sur les épithètes funéraires', p.226) notes six examples at Kom Abu Billu, and M. Guarducci (*Epigrafia greca* iii, p.151) lists it as one of the commonest epithets in Greek funerary inscriptions generally. Philo usually uses the adjective in the phrase ἄλυπος καὶ ἀφοβός, which he sometimes applies to the nature of God (e.g. *Cher.* 86, *Abr.* 202). He employs it in a slightly different sense regarding the provision that the High Priest should not observe mourning (*Spec.Leg.* i 116): ἄλυπος εἰς αἰὲ διατελεῖ; the Loeb translation by F.H. Colson is 'he will.....continue throughout free from sorrow', which is presumably not an appropriate sense to give to the word in an epitaph. The elaboration of the usual χαῖτε to a farewell from wife and children (l.6) seems to be unique among the prose epitaphs from Tell el-Yehoudieh. No restorations of the damaged lines which follow have been suggested; they make the inscription unusually long, and there is nothing similar to suggest what has been lost.

Limestone stele, 48 x 31 cm., with a triangular top forming a pediment with acroteria; recessed field. Letter forms: A/A E E Ω.

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44 (CIJ ii no.1455): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh); necropolis: mid-2nd century B.C.– early 2nd century A.D. Stele (fragmentary); epitaph.

Unknown.

Text follows D.M. Lewis, *CPJ* iii no.1455, p.146 (based on Naville's reading).

[- -]ονίου πατήρ | [- - -]

.... of ...onios, father

E. Naville, 'The mound of the Jew and the city of Onias', *Egypt Exploration Fund*, 7th Memoir (1890), p.14 and pl.IV F (facsimile; from the stone); *SB* i (1915), p.207 no.2638; H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), pp.285-6 no.47 = *KS* i (1958), p.444; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.385 no.1455; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.146 no.1455; A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (1985), p.128 (facsimile).

E. Naville, 'Les fouilles du Delta pendant l'hiver de 1887', *Recueil de Travaux* 10 (1888), p.55; S. Reinach, 'Chronique d'Orient', *RevArch* 11 (1888), p.390; L. Robert, *Hellenica* i (1940), p.22 n.7; A. Barucq, 'Léontopolis', *Supplément au dictionnaire de la Bible* v (Paris, 1957), col.364; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern (1974), p.123; Schürer revised iii.i (1986), p.146 n.33.

Naville, Reinach and Lietzmann thought that the name was complete, 'Ονίου, the genitive of Onias. Their interpretation, which Robert apparently accepted, can be ascribed to their eagerness to prove that Tell el-Yehoudieh really was Onias' settlement. There is of course no reason why the name Onias should not have been used by other inhabitants of the site. Lietzmann suggested [Σωφρ]όνιου as an alternative, but there are many other names with a similar ending. πατήρ occurs only here among the Egyptian Jewish inscriptions, and although it could indicate a family relationship, it seems more likely to be a title; cf. the references to the use of the word in this sense collected by G. Lüderitz, *CJZC* p.142, on his no.67c from Teucheira in Cyrenaica, Εὐπρόσωνος Λόκου πατήρ, and the discussion by B.J. Brotoen, *Women leaders*, pp.64-72. In non-Jewish epitaphs and mummy-labels from Egypt, the word is mainly used as part of a patronymic, usually in the genitive. There are examples of its use to show a family relationship where several people are commemorated together, e.g. *SB* i 5208 Παθερμοῦθις πατήρ, Ψόιτος ἀδελφός (a mummy-label), or as a title, e.g. *SB* i 2040 ἐκοιμήθη ὁ

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τρίσμακαρ πατήρ ἄββα Ζαχαρίας... (a Christian epitaph from Alexandria). In *SB* i 5841, an epitaph from Alexandria, the meaning is ambiguous: Εἰσὶδίμε πάτερ.

Letter forms: A.

45 (CIJ ii no.1456): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh); necropolis: mid-2nd century B.C.– early 2nd century A.D. Fragmentary; epitaph. Cairo Museum.

Text follows D.M. Lewis, *CPJ* iii no.1456, p.147 (based on Naville's reading), with indications of additional lost text by J.G. Milne, *Greek inscriptions* no.9281, p.63.

Ἀριστόβουλε Δο[.....] | ἄωρε πασίφιλε χρη[στὲ χαῖρε] | [- - -]

Milne: [Ἀρ]ιστόβουλε Δ[ο - - -] | [ἄωρε] π[α]σίφι[λ]ε [χ]ρ[η]στὲ χαῖρε - - -] | [- - - - -]

Aristoboulos, son of Do..., untimely dead, friend of all, excellent one, farewell

E. Naville, 'The mound of the Jew and the city of Onias', *Egypt Exploration Fund*, 7th Memoir (1890), p.14 (from the stone); J.G. Milne, *Greek inscriptions* (1905), pp.62-63 no.9281 (facsimile; from the stone); *SB* i (1915), p.68 no.723; H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), p.285 no.41 = *KS* i (1958), p.444; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.385 no.1456; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.147 no.1456.

E. Naville, 'Les fouilles du Delta pendant l'hiver de 1887', *Recueil de Travaux* 10 (1888), p.55; S. Reinach, 'Chronique d'Orient', *RevArch* 11 (1888), p.390; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.100; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 n.36.

Date: Milne suggested 1st century A.D. without explaining why. The condition of the stone apparently deteriorated between Naville's and Milne's readings. It is complete only at the left-hand side. Milne indicated a third line, but with no readings of letters; presumably it gave an age or date.

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Aristoboulos was a common name in the ruling houses of Judaea in the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C.; there is another instance of its use by Egyptian Jews in *CPJ* 93.2 (121 B.C.). Do... might be from Dositheos, a name much used by Jews in Egypt and Cyrenaica which is also written with *omicron* instead of *omega* in *CJZC* 41d and Letter of Aristeeas 50.

Fragmentary limestone stele or plaque, 22 x 25 cm. Letter forms: € C.

46 (*CIJ* ii no.1457): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh); necropolis: mid-2nd century B.C.– early 2nd century A.D. Stele; epitaph.

Alexandria Museum.

Text follows D.M. Lewis, *CPJ* iii no.1457, p.147 (based on Naville's reading).

Ἀγαθοκ|λέου τοῦ | Ὀνησιμο[ῦ] | (ἔτους) (or ἔτων) μ'.

Ἀγαθοκλέου (ll.1-2): Breccia Ἀγαθοκλέους

Ὀνησιμο[ῦ] (l.3): *CIJ* Ὀνησιμ(οῦ)

(Tomb of) Agathokles, son of Onesimos. 40 years old [or in the 40th year].

E. Naville, 'The mound of the Jew and the city of Onias', *Egypt Exploration Fund*, 7th Memoir (1890), p.14 and pl.IV G (facsimile; from the stone); G. Botti, *Catalogue des monuments* (1900), p.265 no.54 (from the stone); E. Breccia, *Iscrizioni* (1911), p.170 no.329 (facsimile; from the stone); *SB* i (1915), p.468 no.5012; H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), pp.286 no.48 = *KS* i (1958), p.444; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.385-386 no.1457; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.147 no.1457; A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (1985), p.128 (facsimile).

E. Naville, 'Les fouilles du Delta pendant l'hiver de 1887', *Recueil de Travaux* 10 (1888), p.55; E. Naville, 'Report of the necropolis of Tell-el-Yahoudieh', *The Academy* 31 (1887), p.296; S. Reinach, 'Chronique d'Orient', *RevArch* 11 (1888), p.390; F. Ll. Griffith, 'The antiquities of Tell-el-Yahoudieh', *Egypt Exploration Fund*, 7th Memoir (1890), p.52; G. Botti, *Notice des monuments* (1893), p.192 no.2533; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.275.

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This inscription comes from the Middle Cemetery (Griffith, p.52). Breccia, unaware of its previous publication, suggested that it came from Alexandria. The wording is slightly different from standard Tell el-Yehoudieh epitaphs, with the deceased's name in the genitive, and τοῦ before his father's name (cf. *CJZC* 3b). Agathokles is attested as a name used by a Jew in no.36 above, *CIJ* 726 from Delos, and *CJZC* 7a 1.49 and 10 from Cyrenaica. Onesimos (see Col. iv 9, Philemon 10) is found in *CIJ* 761, and was the name of a *theosebes* at Aphrodisias (Reynolds & Tannenbaum, *Jews and godfearers*, p.36). Naville and Breccia both thought that the numeral gave the deceased's age rather than a date (10/11 A.D., if it was Augustan), and this is much the more likely alternative; numerous Tell el-Yehoudieh inscriptions put the age in this position, with or without a date following it, but it is very unusual to give a date and not an age after the name (no.67, below, seems to be the only sure example).

Fragmentary stele, 24 x 19 cm. Letter forms: A C.

47 (*CIJ* ii no.1458): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh); necropolis: mid-2nd century B.C.– early 2nd century A.D. (20 B.C.?). Stele; epitaph. Alexandria Museum.

Text follows E. Breccia, *Iscrizioni* no.342, p.174.

(ἔτους) ι' Παῦνι ιβ'. | Γλαυκίας | ἐτῶν ρβ' | φιλότεκνε | χρηστὲ
χαῖρε.

(ἔτους) ι' (l.1): Naville (ἔτους) ια'

In the 10th year, Payni 12. Glaukias, 102 years old, you who loved your children, excellent one, farewell.

E. Naville, 'The mound of the Jew and the city of Onias', *Egypt Exploration Fund*, 7th Memoir (1890), p.14 and pl.IV H (facsimile; from the stone); E. Breccia, *Iscrizioni* (1911), p.174 no.342 (facsimile; from the stone); *SB* i (1915), p.468 no.5019; H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), p.286 no.49 = *KS* i (1958), p.444; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.386 no.1458; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.147 no.1458; A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (1985), p.128 (facsimile).

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E. Naville, 'Report of the necropolis of Tell-el-Yahoodieh', *The Academy* 31 (1887), p.296; G. Botti, *Notice des monuments* (1893), p.191 no.2519; C. Spicq, 'Le lexique de l'amour', *Mnemosyne* 8 (1955), p.32; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.274 n.1; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 n.36.

Payni of the 10th year might fall in, e.g., 42 B.C. (Cleopatra VII) or A.D.23 (Tiberius) instead of the Augustan date suggested above. φιλότεκνος (I.4) is a very common epithet in non-Jewish epitaphs from Egypt (particularly at Kom Abu Billu (Boyaval, 'Quelques remarques sur les épithètes funéraires', p.226); there are 16 examples in *SB* i), but this is the only occurrence at Tell el-Yehoudieh. Philo, *Abr.* 179, says that even people who are φιλότεκνος sometimes sacrifice their children for their country or religion, and there are numerous references to φιλοτεκνία in IV Macc. xiv-xvi, but the adjective there is applied only to mothers. Non-Jewish epitaphs seem to use it indiscriminately for men and women. Despite the improbability, both Breccia and Naville gave the same reading of the age of the deceased (I.3). Botti also read *rho*, but took it to have been inscribed mistakenly for *iota*, i.e. Glaukias was aged 12; however, φιλότεκνος could hardly have applied to someone so young. Egyptian Jews were apparently not prone to exaggerated claims about age; other than Glaukias, 60 is the highest age recorded in epitaphs (see Age at Death Index).

Pediment-topped rectangular stele, 50 x 32 cm., with recessed field and acroteria. Letter forms: Α Ε C Ω.

48 (CIJ ii no.1459): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh); necropolis: mid-2nd century B.C.– early 2nd century A.D. (30 B.C.?). Stele; epitaph. Alexandria Museum.

Text follows E. Breccia, *Iscrizioni* no.368, p.180.

Σάλαμις | [.]σ[α]μ[.] | [...]ε | [...] χαῖ | [ρε]· (ἐτῶν) ιη'. || (ἔτους) α' Χοί(αχ) [- -]

CIJ, following Naville with restorations: Σάλαμις | κανα[.]σ[α]μ[.]μ[ε] | ν[...] χαῖ | ρε ὥ[ς] ἐτῶν .. || (ἔτους) ια' Χοί(αχ) ια'

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Salamis, , farewell, 18 years old. Year 1, Choiak ...

E. Naville, 'The mound of the Jew and the city of Onias', *Egypt Exploration Fund*, 7th Memoir (1890), p.14 and pl.IV I (facsimile; from the stone); G. Botti, *Catalogue des monuments* (1900), p.274 no.84 (from the stone); E. Breccia, *Iscrizioni* (1911), p.180 no.368 (from the stone); *SB* i (1915), p.470 no.5034; H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), p.286 no.50 = *KS* i (1958) p.445; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.386-387 no.1459; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.147 no.1459a-b (gives Breccia and Naville texts separately); A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (1985), p.128 (facsimile).

S. Reinach, 'Chronique d'Orient', *RevArch* 10 (1887), p.106; 11 (1888), p.390; E. Naville, 'Report of the necropolis of Tell-el-Yahoodieh', *The Academy* 31 (1887), p.296; E. Naville, 'Les fouilles du Delta pendant l'hiver de 1887', *Recueil de Travaux* 10 (1888), p.55; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; S.M. Ruozzi Sala, *Lexicon nominum semiticorum* (1974), p.33; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.274 n.1; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.107 no.158; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 n.36.

The date may be from the reign of Augustus, but could belong to an earlier or later ruler. It cannot be from the reign of Cleopatra VII, which only began after Choiak.

Although there is no doubt that Naville and Breccia were dealing with the same text, their copies differ considerably. Breccia was unaware of the stele's provenance, and suggested that it came from Alexandria. He noted that the left-hand edge of the inscription was lacking, but Naville's facsimile implies that he thought that side was complete. Naville gave only a majuscule text, with no suggested restorations. Lietzmann thought that $\chi\epsilon\nu$, which Naville read at the end of l.3 and beginning of l.4, might represent $\chi\eta\eta[\sigma\tau\epsilon]$, which is normally found before $\chi\alpha\iota\tau\epsilon$, but Breccia's reading (not noted by Lietzmann) also had *epsilon* at the end of l.3. The name, almost the only point on which the transcriptions agree, is ambiguous too, since the $-\iota\varsigma$ ending occurs in both masculine and feminine names. *CIJ* sees it as a Greek version of Salome. Ruozzi-Sala, who also believes it to be feminine, compares the biblical Shillem, which is masculine (Gen. xlvii 24). Shalom (שלום) was used as a female name in Talmudic times (M. Jastrow, *Dictionary*, s.v.), and also formed the root of other names such as Salampsio (שלמפסיו), the name of

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one of Herod's daughters and found in its Hebrew form on a number of Jerusalem ossuaries (*CIJ* ii 1315-7, 1353, 1363). The name יְסַלְמָ occurs in Cowley, *Aram. pap.*, no.81 l.2 (5th century B.C., gender unclear) and in an Aramaic Edfu epitaph (?4th century B.C., feminine; Kornfeld, 'Edfu', pp.127-8). Lietzmann treated Salamis as masculine, and noted occurrences of Salama (*ILS* 1863; Lefebvre (1907), no.10.6), Salamos (Princeton Expedition to Syria iii a (1921), no.783.1) and Salemos (*ibid.* iii b (1922), no.1005). Σαλαμίνιος, a genitive form used as a patronymic, is found in a Jewish papyrus from Thebes, dated 156 B.C. (*CPJ* 85.4). The LXX text of Neh. vii 48 refers to υἱοὶ Σαλαμι, and the Letter of Aristaeas (48) names one of the LXX translators as Σελεμίας. Salmai (סלמי or סלמי) was used as a man's name in Talmudic times (Jastrow, s.v.). The biblical Salma/Salmon (I Chron. ii 11 סלמ, Ruth iv 20 סלמ, Ruth iv 21 שלמן) and Shallum (II Kings xv 10 סלש, II Kings xv 13 שלום) may also be relevant. The latter form, and סלם, were used by Aramaic-speakers in Egypt around 400 B.C.: B. Porten & J.C. Greenfield, *Jews of Elephantine and Arameans of Syene* (Jerusalem, 1974), pp.131, 133, 139, 141, 143. It is perhaps rather more likely that Salamis here is male, but the mutilated state of the epitaph makes certainty impossible.

Fragmentary stele, 53 x 32 cm. Letter forms: A C Ω.

49 (*CIJ* ii no.1460): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh); necropolis: mid-2nd century B.C.– early 2nd century A.D. (18 B.C.?). Stele; epitaph. Cairo Museum.

Text follows J.G. Milne, *Greek inscriptions* no.9240, p.62.

Σ[.....] ἄωρε | χρηστὴ χοῦρε παστ|φιλε· ὡς ἐτῶν κγ'. | (ἔτους) ιγ'
Τῷβι γ'.

ἄωρε (l.1): *CIJ* {v} ἄωρε

S..., untimely dead, excellent one, farewell, friend of all.
About 23 years old. In the 13th year, Tybi 3.

E. Naville, 'The mound of the Jew and the city of Onias', *Egypt Exploration Fund*, 7th Memoir (1890), p.14 and pl.IV K (facsimile; from the stone); J.G. Milne, *Greek inscriptions*, (1905), p.62 no.9240 (facsimile; from the stone); *SB*

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i (1915), p.68 no.721; H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), p.285 no.39 = *KS* i (1958), p.444; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.387 no.1460; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.147 no.1460; A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (1985), p.128 (facsimile).

M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.274 n.1; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.100; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 n.36.

If the regnal year is that of Augustus, the date is 18 B.C., but, e.g., Ptolemy XII (Auletes), Cleopatra VII, Tiberius, Claudius, and Nero also reigned for at least 13 years. The deceased was apparently male. The only unusual feature of the inscription is that χαῖτε does not come at the end of the string of epithets.

Pediment-topped rectangular limestone stele, 33 x 26 cm., with recessed field and acroteria. Letter forms: Α Ε C Ω.

50 (*CIJ* ii no.1461): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh); necropolis: mid-2nd century B.C.– early 2nd century A.D. Stele; epitaph.

Unknown.

Text follows D.M. Lewis, *CPJ* iii no.1461, p.147 (based on Naville's reading).

P[...]λιο ὄρο|ε ἄτεκνε | [...]μ[....]

ὄροε (ll.1-2): l. ἄροε

R....., untimely dead, childless,

E. Naville, 'The mound of the Jew and the city of Onias', *Egypt Exploration Fund*, 7th Memoir (1890), p.14 and pl.IV L (facsimile; from the stone); *SB* i (1915), p.207 no.2642; H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), p.286 no.51 = *KS* i (1958), p.445; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.388 no.1461; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.147 no.1461; A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (1985), p.128 (facsimile).

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M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123.

ἄτεκνος occurs in six other Egyptian Jewish inscriptions, and can be used for men or women. B. Boyaval ('Quelques remarques sur les épithètes funéraires', p.226) has one non-Jewish example from Kom Abu Billu (*SB* viii 10162.522), and it is also found in *SB* i 707, iii 6593 (restored) and iii 6937; *SB* iv 7279 uses ἄτεκνοι apparently for the bereaved, who are asked to 'be of good cheer'. It can apply to those who have lost their children as well as those who never had any (*LXX* Is. xlix 21, Jer. xviii 21), and presupposes that the deceased had been married (cf. no.76, below). The reading of the name is unlikely to be correct, as the ending is extremely improbable, but according to Naville's facsimile, *rho* must be the first letter and *omicron* the last; no restoration has been suggested. Naville thought that *mu* in l.3 referred to the deceased's age, but it would be surprising (although not unprecedented) to find someone of at least 40 described as ἄτεκνος. The facsimile shows no lower edge to the inscription, and more lines may be lost.

Fragmentary stele, recessed field in patterned frame. Letter forms: Α Ε.

51 (*CIJ* ii no.1462): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh); necropolis: mid-2nd century B.C.– early 1st century A.D. (4/3 B.C.?). Stele; epitaph. Cairo Museum.

Text follows J.G. Milne, *Greek inscriptions* no.9229, p.61.

[- - -] | [- -] εσ | [- - -] | [- - -] | [- -] οσ || [- -
] λ (ἔτους) (or ἔτων) κζ'.

.... in the 27th year [or aged 27].

E. Naville, 'The mound of the Jew and the city of Onias', *Egypt Exploration Fund*, 7th Memoir (1890), p.14 and pl.IV M (facsimile; from the stone); J.G. Milne, *Greek inscriptions* (1905), p.61 no.9229 (facsimile; from the stone); *SB* i (1915), p.68 no.718; H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), p.285 no.35 = *KS* i (1958), p.443; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.388 no.1462; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.147 no.1462; A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (1985), p.128 (facsimile).

F. Ll. Griffith, 'The antiquities of Tell el-Yahoudieh', *Egypt Exploration Fund*, 7th Memoir (1890), p.52; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123.

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The inscription was found in the South Cemetery (Milne, p.61), so it is probably among the earliest from the site. Milne stated that the preserved letters were from the right-hand end of the inscription, and the left-hand part was lost; nevertheless, *CIJ* and *CPJ* printed the text as if the letters came from the left-hand side. It is unclear if additional lines have been lost after the surviving lettering.

Fragmentary pediment-topped rectangular stele, 32 x 14 cm., with guide-lines. Letter forms: € I C.

52 (*CIJ* ii no.1463): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh); necropolis: mid-2nd century B.C.– early 2nd century A.D. Tomb wall; epitaph.

Tell el-Yehoudieh (*in situ* in 1887).

Text follows E. Naville, 'The Mound of the Jew', p.14; the accentuation of the second name follows H. Heinen, *ZPE* 79 (1989), p.244.

Τρύφαινα | μήτηρ.

Εἰράς θυγάτηρ.

Tryphaina the mother. Eiras the daughter.

E. Naville, 'The mound of the Jew and the city of Onias', *Egypt Exploration Fund*, 7th Memoir (1890), p.14 and pl.IV N (facsimile; from the original); F. Ll. Griffith, 'The antiquities of Tell el-Yahoudieh', *Egypt Exploration Fund*, 7th Memoir (1890), p.52; *SB* i (1915), p.207 no.2643; H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), pp.286 no.52 = *KS* i (1958), p.445; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.388 no.1463; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.148 no.1463; A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (1985), p.128 (facsimile); H. Heinen, 'Onomastisches zu Eiras, Kammerzofe Kleopatras VII', *ZPE* 79 (1989), p.244-6.

E. Naville, 'Report of the necropolis of Tell-el-Yahoudieh', *The Academy* 31 (1887), p.296; E. Naville, 'Les fouilles du Delta pendant l'hiver de 1887', *Recueil de Travaux* 10 (1888), p.55; S. Reinach, 'Chronique d'Orient', *RevArch* 11 (1888), p.390; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.113 no.341, p.117 no.484.

The inscription was written in red above two adjacent niches in the South Cemetery; the bones of the deceased were found in the niches (Naville, p.14).

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Tryphaina is attested as a name used by Jews in Cyrenaica (*CJZC* 55b) and in Rom. xvi 12; it is presumably a female version of Tryphon. *CPJ*, followed by Heinen, suggests that Eiras may be a hypocoristic form of Eirene; it was the name of one of the servants who killed themselves with Cleopatra VII according to Plutarch (*Ant.* 85). The genitive form *Elpâtoç* is found in a non-Jewish papyrus, C. Wessely, *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyrusurkunde* xx (1921), no.26, ll.26-7.

Letter forms: A/Δ ∈ C.

53 (*CIJ* ii no.1464): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh); necropolis: mid-2nd century B.C.– early 2nd century A.D. (13 B.C.?). Stele; epitaph. Unknown.

Text follows D.M. Lewis, *CPJ* iii no.1464, p.148 (based on Naville's reading).

Θευδ[ῶρ]α (?) π[α]σ[τ]ῶν | λ[ε] χ[ρ]ῆ[σ]τ[η] | χαῖρε || [- - -] | [- -
-] | (ἔτους) η' [Χοί] | αχ θ'.

Θευδ[ῶρ]α π[α]σ[τ]ῶν | λ[ε] (ll.1-2): Lietzmann and *CIJ* Θευδ[ῶρ]α π[α]σ[τ]ῶν | λ[ε]
η' (l.8): Lietzmann and *SB* η'

Theodora, friend of all, excellent one, farewell In the 18th year, Choiak 9.

E. Naville, 'The mound of the Jew and the city of Onias', *Egypt Exploration Fund*, 7th Memoir (1890), p.14 and pl.IV O (facsimile; from the stone); *SB* i (1915), p.207 no.2644; H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehoudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), pp.286 no.53 = *KS* i (1958) p.445; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.389 no.1464; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.148 no.1464; A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (1985), p.128 (facsimile).

F. Ll. Griffith, 'The antiquities of Tell el-Yahoudieh', *Egypt Exploration Fund*, 7th Memoir (1890), p.52; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.274 n.1; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.100, p.114 no.402; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 n.36.

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Date: 18th years also occurred in, e.g., 64/3 B.C. (Ptolemy XII Auletes), 35/4 B.C. (Cleopatra VII, officially '18th and 3rd') and A.D.31/2 (Tiberius), so Augustan dating is not certain.

The restoration of the name is due to Lietzmann, but the final *alpha* which his text indicates is on the stone does not appear in Naville's transcription, on which he relied; *SB* treated the *alpha* of l.2 as the end of the name. Θεωδώρα is attested as a name used by a Jew in Cyrenaica (*CJZC* 57h); Θεωδότη and Θεωδοσία would also fit. The spelling Θε- for Θεο- is characteristic of Cyrenaica but also occurs in Egypt. Lietzmann's restoration of [π]ασι[φι]λε seems much more plausible than the *SB* suggestion that the word ending λε is a patronymic. The missing lines presumably gave the age of the deceased. In the date, the L symbol has a vertical line at the end of its horizontal (as in nos.110 and 113, for example) which Lietzmann and *SB* ignored but *CIJ* and Lewis realised was *iota* used as a numeral.

Fragmentary stele. Letter forms: A/A E L.

54 (*CIJ* ii no.1465): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): mid-2nd century B.C.– early 2nd century A.D. Plaque; epitaph.

Cairo Museum.

Text follows D.M. Lewis, *CPJ* iii no.1465, p.148 (based on Milne's reading).

Ἰούδας | Ἰούδου | ὥς ἐτῶν | τρίκοντα.

τρίκοντα (ll.4-5): l. τριάκοντα

Judas, son of Judas. About thirty years old.

J.G. Milne, *Greek inscriptions* (1905), p.62 no.9219 (from the stone); *SB* i (1915), p.68 no.722; H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), pp.285 no.40 = *KS* i (1958), p.444; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.389 no.1465; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.148 no.1465.

L. Robert, *Hellenica* i (1940), p.22 n.7; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; S.M. Ruozzi Sala, *Lexicon nominum semiticorum* (1974), p.20; G. Dellling, 'Biblisch-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten', *BSAC* 22 (1974-5), p.14 n.4; Schürer revised iii.i (1986), p.146 n.33.

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Milne dated the inscription to the 1st century A.D., presumably by letter-forms but without giving specific reasons. The only information he gave about provenance was that the stone was labelled as coming from Tell el-Yehoudieh. There are variations from the normal pattern in the writing of ἐτῶν and the number in full, instead of the usual symbols, and in the absence of epithets. The form of the name Ἰοῦδας is common, although the LXX prefers the indeclinable Ἰοῦδα. The genitive form of Ἰοῦδας, however, is usually Ἰοῦδα, e.g. in the N.T. (Mk. vi 3, Lk. iii 30, Acts ix 11), Philo (*Leg. All.* iii 74), and inscriptions from Cyrenaica (*CJZC* 7c l.13, 45f, 54b, 62a). Josephus uses both Ἰοῦδα (e.g. *Ant.* xii 392) and Ἰοῦδου (e.g. *Ant.* xii 365), and Ἰοῦδου is the preferred form in I and II Macc.

Plain limestone plaque, 32 x 24 cm. Letter forms: Α Ε C Ω.

55 (Plate XV; *CIJ* ii no.1466): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): 28 B.C. Stele; epitaph.

Louvre.

Text follows R. Dussaud, *Les monuments palestiniens et judaïques* no.131, pp.97-8.

Ἐλεάζαρο|ς χρηστὸς π|ασίφιλος | (ἐτῶν) λ' [*vacat*] | (ἔτους) β'
Καίσαρ(ος), || Μεχῆρ κ'.

vacat (l.4) not given in any minuscule text but clear from photographs

Eleazar, excellent one, friend of all. 30 years old. In the 2nd year of Caesar, Mecheir 20.

S. de Ricci, 'Lettre à M. le secrétaire perpétuel', *CRAI* (1908), pp.796-798 (from the stone); R. Dussaud, *Les monuments palestiniens et judaïques au Musée du Louvre*, (1912), pp.97-8 no.131 (photograph; from the stone); *SB* i (1915), p.104 no.1163; H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), p.285 no.42 = *KS* i (1958), p.444; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.390 no.1466 (photograph); *CPJ* iii (1964), p.148 no.1466.

A. Neppi Modona, 'La vita pubblica e privata degli ebrei in Egitto', *Aegyptus* 2 (1921), p.273; L. Robert, *Hellenica* i (1940), p.22 n.7; M. Stern, 'The Jewish

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Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; S.M. Ruozzi Sala, *Lexicon nominum semiticorum* (1974), p.13; G. Dellling, 'Biblisch-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten', *BSAC* 22 (1974-5), p.9; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.274; B.J. Brooten, *Women leaders in the ancient synagogue* (1982), p.73; Schürer revised iii.i (1986), p.146 n.33; C. Sirat et al., *La ketouba de Cologne* (1986), p.34 n.13; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.100.

The stele was bought by de Ricci in Cairo along with nos.57 and 58, below; this is the only one with a firm date. He assumed that it came from Tell el-Yehoudieh; his grounds for the assumption are not stated, but were presumably the form of the stele and the vocabulary of the inscription (cf. no.62 below). The attribution was endorsed by Robert. The name of the deceased and the epithets do not have the usual vocative endings. On the name Eleazar, see no.42, above. The spelling of the month as Μεσίρ is attested from the 3rd century B.C. to the 3rd century A.D. (*SB* v 7985, 7831).

Pediment-topped rectangular stele, 36 x 22.5 cm., with recessed field and acroteria. Letter forms: A E Λ C.

56 (CIJ ii no.1467): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): mid-2nd century B.C.– early 2nd century A.D. (28 B.C.?). Stele; epitaph.

Cairo Museum.

Text follows S. de Ricci, *CRAI* (1909), p.145.

Ἰάκουβος | ἄωρε κομψὲ | χαίρει | ὡς ἐτῶν ια'. | (ἔτους) γ' Θωθύ
ιδ'.

Jacob, untimely dead, clever one, farewell. About 11 years
old. In the 3rd year, Thoth 14.

S. de Ricci, 'Lettre à M. le secrétaire perpétuel', *CRAI* (1909), p.145 (from the stone); *SB* i (1915), p.3 no.11; H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), p.285 no.45 = *KS* i (1958), p.444; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.390-391 no.1467; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.148 no.1467.

L. Robert, *Hellenica* i (1940), p.22 n.7; P.M. Fraser, 'Greek inscriptions 1952-3', *JEA* 40 (1954), p.124; G. Zuntz, Review of *CPJ* iii, *JSS* 10 (1965), p.291; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; S.M.

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Ruozzi Sala, *Lexicon nominum semiticorum* (1974), p.18; G. Delling, 'Biblisch-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten', *BSAC* 22 (1974-5), p.16; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.274 n.1; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 n.36.

The stone was bought by the Cairo Museum in 1906, and de Ricci stated without further explanation that it originated from Tell el-Yehoudieh. He gave no details of its form. There is no compelling reason to prefer de Ricci's Augustan dating (28 B.C.) to the 3rd year of Cleopatra VII (50 B.C.) or of another late Ptolemaic or early Roman ruler.

The spelling of the deceased's name here and in no.81 (see Tcherikover, *Jews in Egypt*, p.185) is usual in the papyri, but unusual in the LXX (only at I Esd. ix 48); the preferred forms are 'Ιακωβ in the LXX and 'Ιάκωβος in the N.T.; the latter is also used in *CIJ* 861 (Syria, 4th century A.D.) and 966 (Gaza, 6th century A.D.). In the form 'Ιακκόβιος it occurs in a 3rd century B.C. tax-list from Arsinoe-Crocodilopolis (*CPR* xiii 21.4). 'Ικουβος is found at Beth She'arim (94, 96). The name here has a nominative ending although the adjectives are vocative. κομψός (1.2) is used in no other Tell el-Yehoudieh inscriptions. There is an example from Kom Abu Billu (*SEG* i 561), one dated to the 4th/5th century A.D. from Alexandria (*SB* i 5056), and one from the Roman period, with no provenance given (*SB* iii 6124). The form is always the vocative, κομψέ, which is also restored from the final two letters in *SB* iii 6591, and the epithet is applied only to men. 'Elegant' and 'neat' are also possible translations; Zuntz suggested 'good' or 'nice', since it here takes the place of χρηστός. Editors have assumed that the stone-cutter wrote Θῶθυ mistakenly for Θῶθυ (1.5), but Θῶθυ was the standard spelling in Cyrenaica, and might have been used in Egypt, although it does not occur in *SB*; the other Egyptian Jewish examples all use Θῶθ.

No details were published of the form or size of the stele. Letter forms: Α € C Ω.

57 (Plate XVI; *CIJ* ii no.1468): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): mid-2nd century B.C.– early 2nd century A.D. Stele; epitaph. Louvre.

Text follows R. Dussaud, *Les monuments palestiniens et judaïques* no.133, p.99.

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Ἰοάνη Ἰοάν|ου νόμφιε | ἄωρε πασ|ίφιλε καὶ | ἄλυπε χρη||στὲ
χαῖρε· | ὥς (ἐτῶν) λ'.

ἄωρε πασ|ίφιλε (ll.3-4): CPJ ἄωρε πασ|ίφιλε

John, son of John, bridegroom, untimely dead, friend of all and who caused pain to none, excellent one, farewell. About 30 years old.

S. de Ricci, 'Lettre à M. le secrétaire perpétuel', *CRAI* (1909), p.144 (from the stone); R. Dussaud, *Les monuments palestiniens et judaïques au Musée du Louvre*, (1912), p.99 no.133 (photograph; from the stone); *SB* i (1915), p.3 no.10; H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), p.285 no.44 = *KS* i (1958), p.444; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.391 no.1468 (photograph); *CPJ* iii (1964), p.148 no.1468.

L. Robert, *Hellenica* i (1940), p.22 n.7; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; S.M. Ruozzi Sala, *Lexicon nominum semiticorum* (1974), p.19; G. Dellings, 'Biblisch-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten', *BSAC* 22 (1974-5), p.14; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.100; G.H.R. Horsley, *New documents* iv (1987), p.227; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 n.36.

The stone was acquired along with nos.55 and 58. De Ricci regarded their provenance from Tell el-Yehoudieh as certain, and relied on no.55 to date the others, but there is no evidence that they were originally found together. The spelling of the name is an unusual variation of Ἰωάννης, but it also occurs in a number of Cyrenaican inscriptions (see Index); de Ricci (p.146) noted that some of the oldest New Testament manuscripts also used this form. Ἰωάνης is found in a 3rd century B.C. papyrus from the Arsinoite nome (*CPR* xiii 4.165). The usual Hebrew spelling is יוחנן.

The description of the deceased as νόμφιος (l.2) implies that he was on the point of marriage or had been married very recently; in *SB* i 5025, from Alexandria, the deceased, aged 14, is described as both νόμφιος and ἄγαμος. Horsley, *New Documents* iv p.227, suggests that the men in both cases might have been betrothed but not yet cohabiting with their brides; it is also possible (although unsubstantiated) that some Jews may have followed the Egyptian practice of not regarding cohabitation as marriage until the birth of

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a child.

In l.3, ἄωρε, the stone-cutter mistakenly put an extra horizontal bar between the middle and right hastae of the *omega*, which led Lewis, relying on the poor quality photograph in *CIJ*, to read ω; however, Dussaud's original photograph makes it clear that there is no *iota*.

Pediment-topped rectangular stele, 55 x 22 cm., with recessed field and acroteria. Letter forms: Α Ε ° C Ψ.

58 (*CIJ* ii no.1469): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): mid-2nd–1st century B.C. (23 B.C.?). Stele; epitaph.

Louvre.

Text follows S. de Ricci, *CRAI* (1909), pp.144-5 (minuscule text).

ἔτους ζ' Φαμ(ενὼθ) ζ'. | Σαββαταῖος | Σομοήλου | ἄωρε χρηστὴ
| χαῖρε· ὡς ἐτῶν || κε'.

ἐτῶν (l.5): de Ricci (majuscule text) and *SB* give ἐτῶν, but *omega* is clear in the *CIJ* photograph; Dussaud mistakenly brackets the *omega* and *CPJ* the whole word

In the 7th year, Phamenoth 7. Sabbataios, son of Somoelos, untimely dead, excellent one, farewell. About 25 years old.

S. de Ricci, 'Lettre à M. le secrétaire perpétuel', *CRAI* (1909), pp.144-145 (from the stone); *SB* i (1915), p.3 no.9; R. Dussaud, *Les monuments palestiniens et judaïques au Musée du Louvre* (1922), pp.98-99 no.132 (photograph; from the stone); H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), p.285 no.43 = *KS* i (1958), p.444; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.392 no.1469 (photograph); *CPJ* iii (1964), p.148 no.1469.

L. Robert, *Hellenica* i (1940), p.22 n.7; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; G. Dellling, 'Biblisch-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten', *BSAC* 22 (1974-5), p.10 n.2; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.274 n.1; N.G. Cohen, 'Jewish names as cultural indicators in antiquity', *JSJ* 7 (1976), p.111; C. Sirat et al., *La ketouba de Cologne* (1986), p.33 n.8; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.100; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish

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inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 n.36.

On provenance, see no.57. It is unusual to find the date given first in Tell el-Yehoudieh inscriptions. The name of the month is abbreviated to Φα, with a small *mu* above the *alpha*.

Sabbataios, and the comparable Sabbatis, Sabbatios and Sabbathion, occur in numerous other Egyptian inscriptions and papyri. The Hebrew Shabbethai (Ezra x 15, Neh. viii 7 שבתאי), likely to apply to someone born on the sabbath, is found in the Elephantine papyri among 5th century B.C. Jews in Egypt. The LXX rendered it as Σαββαθαί or Σαββαθαῖος, but it could be spelled with *tau* instead of *theta*. The form Sabbataios occurs in the Letter of Aristeeas (48, 49) and in I Esd. ix 14, ix 48. The use of the 'sabbath' names in Egypt is discussed in detail by V.A. Tcherikover, *CPJ* iii, pp.43-56. Sabbataios is one of the forms which he showed were used mainly in Ptolemaic times, being superseded in the Roman period by Sambathion, which also spread to non-Jewish observers of the sabbath. The name therefore supports dating the inscription no later than the reign of Augustus. Σομοήλος is apparently a variant of Samuel, and also occurs in no.29 above, where it is discussed.

Pediment-topped rectangular stele, 53 x 33 cm., with recessed field and acroteria. Guide-lines above and below first four lines. Letter forms: Α Ε Ι Σ
 ∩.

59 (Plate XVII; *CIJ* ii no.1470): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): late 1st century B.C.– early 2nd century A.D. Stele or plaque; epitaph. National Museum, Warsaw.

Text follows O. Rubensohn, *APF* 5 (1909) no.15, p.165.

Σαββατίων ἄωρε | χρησιτὲ πασίφιλε | ἔλοιπε χαῖρε· | ὥς (ἐτῶν)
 [vacat]

ἔλοιπε (l.3): l. ἔλοιπε

vacat (l.4) apparent from photograph provided by National Museum, Warsaw

Sabbathion, untimely dead, excellent one, friend of all, who caused pain to none, farewell. About .. years old.

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O. Rubensohn, 'Neue Inschriften aus Aegypten', *APF* 5 (1909), pp.165-6 no.15 (from the stone); J. Oehler, 'Epigraphische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Judentums', *MGWJ* 53 (1909), p.451 no.228a; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.392-393 no.1470; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.149 no.1470.

J. Juster, *Les juifs dans l'empire romain* i (1914), p.497; L. Robert, *Hellenica* i (1940), p.22 n.7; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; S.M. Ruozzi Sala, *Lexicon nominum semiticorum* (1974), p.33; G. Delling, 'Biblisch-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten', *BSAC* 22 (1974-5), p.27 and n.1; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.100; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 n.36.

This inscription and nos.60-65 and 116 below were held in the Archaeological Museum of the Lyceum Hosianum at Braunsberg (Braniewo) in East Prussia until 1947, when the contents of the museum were moved to the National Museum of Warsaw (A. Saduska, *Inscriptions latines et monuments funéraires romains au Musée National de Varsovie* (Warsaw, 1953), p.5). This inscription is now inv.no.198811MN. The inventory kept by the founder of the Lyceum Hosianum collection, W. Weißbrodt, was lost after his death, so that definite information about the provenance of some of the inscriptions is lacking (A. Greifenhagen, 'Antiken in Braunsberg', *JDAI* 48 (1933), p.420). Rubensohn's information that this stone came from Tell el-Yehoudieh was perhaps derived from the inventory or from Weißbrodt himself, but the form is typical of the site. He dated it to the early Roman period.

Only the top third of the available field is used. The age of the deceased was not filled in, according to Rubensohn because of the stone-cutter's ignorance of Greek. The standard formula $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\ \chi\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon$ is broken by other adjectives, as is often the case with the Tell el-Yehoudieh inscriptions. The name is another 'sabbath' name (see no.58 above); this spelling does not occur elsewhere but $\Sigma\alpha\beta\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ is found in a Byzantine inscription from Crete (Fraser & Matthews, *Lexicon*, s.v.). $\Sigma\alpha\beta\beta\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\omega\nu$ was a form which became popular in the early Roman period (V. Tcherikover, *CPJ* iii, p.44).

Pediment-topped rectangular limestone stele or plaque, 36 x 26.5 cm., with acroteria; recessed field and guide-lines. Letter forms: A E C W.

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60 (Plate XVIII; CIJ ii no.1471): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): 55 or 4 B.C. Stele; epitaph.

National Museum, Warsaw (see no.59).

Text follows S. de Ricci, *RevEp* n.s. 1 (1913) no.7, p.147.

Σάββαθε χρη|στὲ πασίφι|λε χαῖρε· ὡς ἐτῶν ξ'. | (ἔτους) κς'
Παῦνι || κς'.

Sabbathos, excellent one, friend of all, farewell. About 60 years old. In the 26th year, Payni 27.

S. de Ricci, 'Inscriptions grecques d'Égypte. Un musée grec en Prusse Orientale', *RevEp* n.s. 1 (1913), p.147 no.7 (from the stone); J. Juster, *Les juifs dans l'empire romain* i (1914), p.497; A. Neppi Modona, 'La vita pubblica e privata degli ebrei in Egitto', *Aegyptus* 2 (1921), p.273; *SB* iv (1931), p.6 no.7291; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.393 no.1471; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.149 no.1471.

M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; S.M. Ruozzi Sala, *Lexicon nominum semiticorum* (1974), p.32; G. Dellling, 'Biblisch-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten', *BSAC* 22 (1974-5), p.27; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.275; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.100; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 n.36.

On the name, see no.58, above. Sabbathos is not one of the common forms of 'sabbath' name discussed by V.A. Tcherikover (*CPJ* iii, p.44), but Sabbathis was a regular feminine version. De Ricci's opinion that this stele was from Tell el-Yehoudieh was based on the design and on the Jewish name, although he apparently did not have firm evidence. The Augustan dating was supported by de Ricci and Neppi Modona; 55 B.C. is a possible alternative – the 26th year of Ptolemy XII (Auletes), who was restored to the throne earlier in the year.

Pediment-topped rectangular limestone stele, 55 x 25 cm., with recessed field, and guide-lines above and below ll.1-4. Letter forms: Α Ε C Ω. Numeral Ϛ.

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61 (Plate XIX; CIJ ii no.1472): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh) (?): mid-2nd century B.C.– early 1st century A.D. (11 B.C.?). Stele; epitaph.

National Museum, Warsaw (see no.59).

Text follows S. de Ricci, *RevEp* n.s. 1 (1913) no.8, p.146.

Νίκη ἔορ|ον· (ἐτῶν) λ'. Αθ|ῶρ ια' [vacat] | [vacat] (ἔτους) κ'.

ἔορον (ll.1-2): l. ἔωρε

Nike, untimely dead. 30 years old. Hathyr 11 in the 20th year. [or In the 30th year, Hathyr 11. 20 years old.]

S. de Ricci, 'Inscriptions grecques d'Égypte. Un musée grec en Prusse Orientale', *RevEp* n.s. 1 (1913), p.146 no.8 (from the stone); J. Juster, *Les juifs dans l'empire romain* i (1914), p.497; A. Neppi Modona, 'La vita pubblica e privata degli ebrei in Egitto', *Aegyptus* 2 (1921), p.273; *SB* iv (1931), p.6 no.7292; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.394 no.1472; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.149 no.1472.

M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i, (1974), p.123; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.274 n.1; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.96 no.88, p.116 no.446; G.H.R. Horsley, *New documents* iv (1987), p.226.

The attribution of this inscription to Tell el-Yehoudieh rests on de Ricci's statement that it is 'sans doute de même provenance que la précédente' (i.e. no.60), presumably based on the form of the stele. Nike was a very common name in Egypt, but does not seem to be attested elsewhere for a Jewish woman, although a number of Jews in Cyrenaica bore names beginning with Nik- or Neik-. The stone-cutter's difficulties are suggested by ἔορον misspelled and in the wrong case, and by unnecessary gaps left at the end of l.3 and beginning of l.4. The *nu* of l.2 has an additional horizontal stroke to the right of the foot of its right *hasta*, as if written in ligature with an additional L symbol. Lewis notes that the expansion of the L symbol to ἐτῶν in l.2 and ἔτους in l.4 could be reversed; this would give an unusual word order, but it is also unusual for the month to be given before the year (see no.101, below). The 20th year is probably Augustan (62 B.C., 33 B.C. (officially '20th and 5th') and A.D.33 are also possible), and the 30th year would be most likely to be 1 B.C.

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Pediment-topped rectangular limestone stele, 32 x 20 cm., with acroteria and recessed field; guide-lines for each line, with a fifth one unused. Letter forms: A.

62 (Plate XX; CIJ ii no.1473): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): mid-2nd century B.C.– early 2nd century A.D. Stele; epitaph.

National Museum, Warsaw (see no.59).

Text follows photograph provided by National Museum, Warsaw.

Ἐλεάζαρε | ἄωρος χρηστὸς | πασίφιλος | ὥς (ἐτῶν) κε'.

Ἐλεάζαρε (l.1): de Ricci Ἐλεάζαρο[ς]

Eleazar, untimely dead, excellent one, friend of all. About 25 years old.

S. de Ricci, 'Inscriptions grecques d'Égypte. Un musée grec en Prusse Orientale', *RevEp* n.s. 1 (1913), pp.147-8 no.9 (facsimile; from the stone); *SB* iv (1931), p.6 no.7293; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.394 no.1473; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.149 no.1473.

J. Juster, *Les juifs dans l'empire romain* i (1914), p.497; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; S.M. Ruozzi Sala, *Lexicon nominum semiticorum* (1974), p.14; G. Delling, 'Biblisch-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten', *BSAC* 22 (1974-5), p.9; Schürer revised iii.i (1986), p.146 n.33; C. Sirat et al., *La ketouba de Cologne* (1986), p.34 n.13; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.100.

De Ricci's attribution of this stele to Tell el-Yehoudieh is supported by the form, the Jewish name and the use of πασίφιλος. On the name, see no.42 above. The name was written in larger letters than the rest of the text, but the final *epsilon* is smaller and lunate in form. The final *sigma* was omitted from two of the adjectives, although there was ample room for it in πασίφιλος. Little more than half the available field on the stone was used.

Pediment-topped rectangular limestone stele, 46 x 20 cm., with acroteria and recessed field. Letter forms: A E/Є I C W.

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63 (Plate XXI; *CIJ* ii no.1474): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): mid-2nd century B.C.– early 2nd century A.D. (22 B.C.?). Stele; epitaph. National Museum, Warsaw (see no.59).

Text follows photograph provided by National Museum, Warsaw.

Σεβεθῶς | ἄωρε χρηστὸς πασίφιλος | [ὥς ἐτῶν] γι'. | (ἔτους) η'
 Μ[εσο]ρή || [*vacat?*] θ'.

χρηστὸς (ll.2-3): l. χρηστὸς

(ll.4-6): de Ricci [.....]NEB | (ἔτους) η' Μ[εσο]ρή | ιθ' (?)

Sebethois, untimely dead, excellent one, friend of all. About 13 years old. In the 8th year, Mesore 9 (?).

S. de Ricci, 'Inscriptions grecques d'Égypte. Un musée grec en Prusse Orientale', *RevEp* n.s. 1 (1913), pp.147-8 no.10 (facsimile; from the stone); J. Juster, *Les juifs dans l'empire romain* i (1914), p.497; *SB* iv (1931), p.6 no.7294; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.394-395 no.1474; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.149 no.1474.

M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; S.M. Ruozzi Sala, *Lexicon nominum semiticorum* (1974), p.38; G. Dellings, 'Biblisch-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten', *BSAC* 22 (1974-5), p.27; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.274 n.1; Schürer revised iii.i (1986), p.146 n.33.

If the inscription is Augustan, the date would be 22 B.C., but possible alternatives include 44 B.C. and A.D.22, 45 or 62. The form, the Jewish name (also found in no.109, below) and use of πασίφιλος again support de Ricci's attribution of this inscription to Tell el-Yehoudieh. The name, which is masculine, appears to be another derivative of Shabbethai (see no.58, above); *CPJ* 39 attests the genitive Σεβεθῶτος. In l.4, de Ricci's reading gave the apparently impossible ending νεβ, but the photograph provided by the National Museum, Warsaw, suggests that Lewis was correct to propose restoring [ὥς ἐτῶν] and a numeral. Bilabel's tentative suggestion in *SB* of [ἐλαει]νὲ β. has nothing to support it. There is a slightly larger gap between ll.4 and 5 than between previous lines, and Μ[εσο]ρή seems to be the only possible restoration in l.5; the surviving *eta* suggests that the month was written in somewhat smaller letters than were used in earlier lines. All that survives of l.6 is a *theta* below where the *sigma* of Μεσορή would have been written. Since a numeral is all that would be expected in this line, it is likely

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that there was a gap at the beginning of the line; an *iota* or *kappa* may have preceded the *theta*. However, it is possible that something more has been lost.

Pediment-topped rectangular limestone stele, 41 x 19 cm., with recessed field and acroteria. Letter forms: A ΕΕ Θ CΕ Ω.

64 (Plate XXII; *CIJ* ii no.1475): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh) (?): mid-2nd century B.C.– early 2nd century A.D. (26 B.C.?); Plaque; epitaph.

National Museum, Warsaw (see no.59).

Text follows photograph provided by National Museum, Warsaw.

[...]να[.]ιον μικράν | πασίφιλον || κλαύσατε. ὥς | ἐτῶν
τρί|ακοντα δ|υο. (ἔτους) ε' Τῦβι || δ'.

[...]να[.]ιον (ll.1-2): de Ricci [...]να[.]ιον

Weep for, little woman, friend of all. About thirty-two years old. In the 5th year, Tybi 4.

S. de Ricci, 'Inscriptions grecques d'Égypte. Un musée grec en Prusse Orientale', *RevEp* n.s. 1 (1913), p.148 no.11 (facsimile; from the stone); J. Juster, *Les juifs dans l'empire romain* i (1914), p.497; *SB* iv (1931), p.6 no.7295; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.395 no.1475; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.149 no.1475.

M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.274 n.1; U. Fischer, *Eschatologie und Jenseitserwartung* (1978), p.238; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.96 no.91, p.100; G.H.R. Horsley, *New documents* iv (1987), p.226; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 n.40.

De Ricci's suggestion that this might be from Tell el-Yehoudieh was made into a definite statement in *CIJ* (p.393). If the regnal year is Augustus's, the date is 26 B.C., but 47 B.C. and A.D.18, 44 or 58 are among the other possibilities. πασίφιλος, as noted above (no.41), is a particular feature of Tell el-Yehoudieh inscriptions. μικρά is used as an epithet in two other Tell el-Yehoudieh epitaphs (nos.86, 100), for women aged 16 and 35; it is also found

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in a woman's epitaph at Beth She'arim (M. Schwabe & B. Lifshitz, no.131). Nos.37, 93 and 97 use the masculine form for people aged 27, 3 and 28. Although it was commonly used to describe people in papyri, its employment as a funerary epithet in Egypt seems almost entirely confined to the Jews; the only non-Jewish example in *SB* is in a Christian inscription, iv 7300, in memory of Ἰωάννου μικροῦ, and since no other epithets are used, it may be no more than a way of distinguishing him from other Johns. κλαύσατε and variations (from the verb κλαίω) were used in many Jewish inscriptions (see comment on no.34, above, and Formulae Index), but rarely (at least in prose) by non-Jews. The only non-Jewish examples of the form κλαύσατε in *SB* are i 5631 (Alexandria, 1st-2nd century A.D.) and iv 6706 (Karanis, undated); there are other forms of the verb in i 2134, i 4313, iv 7423 and x 10719 (a negative).

The most likely restoration of the deceased woman's name is the well-attested Ἀθηνάριον: 9 examples in Preisigke's *Namenbuch* and 11 in Foraboschi's *Onomasticon*; an alternative would be Θεονάριον, which is found in *P.Fouad* 36.

Rectangular plaque, 41 x 19 cm., with recessed field. The stonecutter did not leave sufficient space for the last four lines, which had to be compressed considerably. Letter forms: Α Ε Ε Γ Λ.

65 (Plate XXIII; *CIJ* ii no.1476): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh) (?): A.D.1 (?). Stele; epitaph.

National Museum, Warsaw (see no.59).

Text follows S. de Ricci, *RevEp* n.s. 1 (1913) no.12, p.148.

(ἔτους) λ' | Φαρμουθι | κζ'. | Ἰησοῦς | Σαμβαί|ου ἄωρε |
ἄτεκνε | χρηστὲ | χαί[ρ]ε.

In the 30th year, Pharmouthi 27. Jesus son of Sambaïos,
untimely dead, childless, excellent one, farewell.

S. de Ricci, 'Inscriptions grecques d'Égypte. Un musée grec en Prusse Orientale', *RevEp* n.s. 1 (1913), p.148 no.12 (facsimile; from the stone); J. Juster, *Les juifs dans l'empire romain* i (1914), p.497; A. Neppi Modona, 'La vita pubblica e privata degli ebrei in Egitto', *Aegyptus* 2 (1921), p.273; *SB* iv (1931), pp.6-7 no.7296; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.395-396 no.1476; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.149 no.1476.

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L. Robert, *Hellenica* i (1940), p.22 n.7; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; S.M. Ruozzi Sala, *Lexicon nominum semiticorum* (1974), pp.19, 36; G. Delling, 'Biblisch-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten', *BSAC* 22 (1974-5), p.19 n.6, p.27; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.275; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.100; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 n.36.

Date: as in no.60 above, the length of the reign suggests Augustus very strongly, the only alternatives being in the 2nd century B.C. De Ricci said nothing about the provenance of the stele, but the names are undoubtedly Jewish; the attribution to Tell el-Yehoudieh was first made in *SB*. The name Jesus also occurs in no.34, above. It is the name of two of the LXX translators in the Letter of Aristeas (48, 49), and there are numerous examples from Cyrenaica; Juster pointed out that although it is unusual in Egyptian epigraphy, it is fairly common in papyri. Sambaïos is apparently another derivative of Shabbethai (see no.58, above); the spelling with -μβ- was preferred in Egypt, although this form is not found elsewhere. Σαββαῖος occurs in *CPJ* 47.7, from the Arsinoite district, 2nd century B.C. The unusual word order, with the date first, occurs in only a few Tell el-Yehoudieh inscriptions (see no.99). Neither the shape of the stele nor the letter forms, particularly the absence of lunate letters, are typical of Tell el-Yehoudieh.

Limestone stele, 45 x 32 cm., with triangular top forming a pediment. Letter forms: Α Ε Ι Θ Σ Ω.

66 (CIJ ii no.1480): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh) (?): mid-2nd century B.C.– early 2nd century A.D. Stele; epitaph.

Unknown (Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, in 1913).

Text follows D.M. Lewis, *CPJ* iii no.1480, p.150 (based on de Ricci's reading).

Ταοῦ[τ]ν | χρη[στ]ῇ | χαῖρε· ὥς ἐ[τ]ῶ[ν] μθ'. | (ἔτους) ιβ'
Φαῶφι || κα'.

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Tao6[τ]v (l.1): de Ricci Tao6[ω?]v; *SB* Tao6[]v

Taoution, excellent woman, farewell. About 49 years old. In the 12th year, Phaophi 21.

S. de Ricci, 'Inscriptions grecques d'Égypte conservées à Saint-Petersbourg', *RevEp* n.s. 1 (1913), p.157 no.9; *SB* iv (1931), pp.9-10 no.7314; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.397-398 no.1480; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.150 no.1480.

V.A. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic civilization and the Jews* (1959), p.346 n.7; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; C. Balconi, 'Documenti grecchi e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.274 n.1; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.96 no.111, p.99, p.122 no.644; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 n.36.

This stone was bought at Gizeh in 1898 with nos.130 and 136-7. Although Lewis believes there is no reason to suppose the inscription Jewish, de Ricci noted that the stone is of the commonest Tell el-Yehoudieh type, and Taoutin (which *CIJ* restored) is also found as a name used by a Jew in no.90 below. Rokeah's prosopography in *CPJ* iii mistakenly treats it as a masculine name, but the deceased here is clearly female (there is no indication of gender in no.90); F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, s.v., records the name as feminine, and has no other examples of it.

Pediment-topped rectangular limestone stele, 30 x 20 cm., with recessed field and acroteria. Letter forms: Α Ε Ω.

67 (*CIJ* ii no.1491): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): 28 B.C. or A.D.16 (?). Stele; epitaph.

Alexandria Museum.

Text follows C.C. Edgar, *ASAE* 19 (1920) no.2, p.218 (minuscule text with additional doubtful letters indicated in facsimile).

Εἰρήνη[ς] | Νικάνο[ρ(ος) χρηστ|ῆς γυν|αικὸς. || (ἔτους) γ' Ἀϋθρ
ι'.

(Tomb of) Eirene, excellent wife of Nicanor [or Eirene daughter of Nicanor, excellent wife/woman]. In the 3rd year, Hathyr 10.

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C.C. Edgar, 'Tomb-stones from Tell el Yahoudieh', *ASAE* 19 (1920), p.218 no.2 (facsimile; from the stone); H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), p.281 no.2 = *KS* i (1958), p.438; *SB* iii (1926), p.25 no.6161; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.406 no.1491 (photograph); *CPJ* iii (1964), p.154 no.1491.

M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.274 n.1; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.99, p.113 no.349.

This inscription is one of a group acquired from inhabitants of Arab villages near the site of Tell el-Yehoudieh (also including nos.31 and 68-83), which Edgar believed could be dated to the end of the 1st century B.C. or beginning of the 1st century A.D., although he was not convinced that all belonged to the reign of Augustus; in this case, the Augustan date would be 28 B.C., and A.D.16 is the most likely alternative (perhaps also 50 B.C. and A.D.36 or 42). No.30, which was acquired at the same time, has a much earlier date.

Eirene was a name commonly used by Jews in Egypt and Cyrenaica, but also much used by non-Jews. Among Jews, it may perhaps have been regarded as a Greek equivalent of the Hebrew name Salome, 'Peace', extremely popular in Palestine (Pan, 'Jewish women's names', pp.191-2), but unattested in Greek transliteration in Egypt unless the name in no.48 derives from it (there is a non-Jewish reference to Herod's sister, see Rokeah in *CPJ* iii, p.189); Salomezion occurs in the Aramaic inscriptions of Edfu. Nikanor also occurs in no.151, below, and in *CPJ* 24.26 (Trikomia, 174 B.C.). It is unclear whether Nikanor should be seen as the deceased woman's husband (as in Lewis' translation in *CPJ*) or father. The name is in the usual position for a patronymic, but the description of Eirene as γυναικὸς suggests that she is being viewed as a wife. Other Egyptian epitaphs with comparable wording avoid the ambiguity, e.g. *SB* i 2095 Δωρήτη γυναικὶ γλυκυτάτη Εὐφημος ἀνὴρ, and 3660 γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἐπόησε, but at Tell el-Yehoudieh it was extremely rare for the commemorator to be specified by name or relationship.

Limestone stele, 27 x 21 cm., recessed field. Letter forms: Α Ε C.

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68 (CIJ ii no.1492): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): 26/25 B.C. Stele; epitaph.

Alexandria Museum.

Text follows C.C. Edgar, *ASAE* 19 (1920) no.3, p.218.

[.....] | [.....] ε χρῆσ|τέ· ὥς ἐ|τῶν κγ'. || ε' Καίσαρο(ς) | [T]υβί
[..]

κγ' (1.5) misprinted in *CPJ* as γκ'

...., excellent one. About 23 years old. In the 5th (year) of Caesar, Tybi ..

C.C. Edgar, 'Tomb-stones from Tell el Yahoudieh', *ASAE* 19 (1920), p.218 no.3 (facsimile; from the stone); H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), p.281 no.3 = *KS* i (1958), p.438; *SB* iii (1926), p.25 no.6162; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.406-407 no.1492; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.153 no.1492.

M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.274; B.J. Brooton, *Women leaders in the ancient synagogue* (1982), p.73; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.100.

As ll.3-5 each have 5 letters, that is the likely number missing from ll.1 and 2, although 7 were fitted into l.6. In l.3, -ε is probably the ending of another epithet (e.g. ἄλυε or ἄωρε) or of χαῖρε, so the name of the deceased, evidently a man, contained about 6 or 7 letters. The L symbol was omitted before the regnal year in l.6.

Rectangular stele, 37 x 28 cm., with recessed field. Letter forms: Α Ε C Ω.

69 (CIJ ii no.1493): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): 23 B.C. Stele; epitaph.

Alexandria Museum.

Text follows C.C. Edgar, *ASAE* 19 (1920) no.4, p.218.

Πτεββίων χρῆσ|τέ· πασίφιλε χαῖρε· ὥς ἐ|τῶν τεσεράκον|τα πέντε.
| (ἔτους) ζ' Καίσαρ(ος), || Μεχῖρ ις'.

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τεσεράκοντα (II.3-4): 1. τεσεράκοντα

Ptebbion, excellent one, friend of all, farewell. About forty-five years old. In the 7th year of Caesar, Mecheir 16.

C.C. Edgar, 'Tomb-stones from Tell el Yahoudieh', *ASAE* 19 (1920), p.218 no.4; H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), p.281 no.4 = *KS* i (1958), p.438; *SB* iii (1926), p.25 no.6163; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.407 no.1493; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.153 no.1493.

V.A. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic civilization and the Jews* (1959), p.346 n.7; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.274; B.J. Broton, *Women leaders in the ancient synagogue* (1982), p.73; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.100; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 n.36.

Ptebbion does not occur in Preisigke's *Namenbuch* or Foraboschi's *Onomasticon*. Lietzmann believed it to be an Egyptian name derived from *TBBO*, meaning pure. *SB* printed the name as Πρεββίων, which is the form noted by Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, but that version is also a *hapax legomenon*, and is likely to have been a misprint in *SB*, as there is no comment about it. Edgar noted the stone-cutter's exceptional tendency to use straight lines instead of curves in his lettering.

Pediment-topped rectangular limestone stele, 80 x 36 cm., with recessed field and acroteria. Letter forms: Α Ε □ Γ Ϟ Λ. Numeral: C.

70 (CIJ ii no.1494): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): 23 B.C. (?). Stele; epitaph.

Alexandria Museum.

Text follows D.M. Lewis, *CPJ* iii no.1494, p.153 (based on Edgar's reading).

Ἡλάριον | Φιλίππου | ἔωρε | πασίφιλε ἄλυ(πε) χ||ρηστὴ χαίρει
| ὡς ἐτῶν Ϛ'. | (ἔτους) Ϛ' Ἐπίφ ε'.

INSCRIPTIONS

ἄλυ(πε) χρηστή (Il.5-6): *CIJ* Ελ[υ](πε) χρηστ(ε)

Hilarion, daughter of Philip, untimely dead, friend of all, who caused pain to none, excellent girl, farewell. About 6 years old. In the 7th year, Epeiph 5.

C.C. Edgar, 'Tomb-stones from Tell el Yahoudieh', *ASAE* 19 (1920) p.219 no.5 (facsimile; from the stone); H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), p.281 no.5 = *KS* i (1958), p.438; *SB* iii (1926), p.25 no.6164; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.407-8 no.1494 (photograph); *CPJ* iii (1964), p.153 no.1494.

M.N. Tod, 'Laudatory epithets in Greek epitaphs', *ABSA* 46 (1951), p.188 n.24; G. Zuntz, Review of *CPJ* iii, *JSS* 10 (1965), p.291; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.274 n.1; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.100; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 n.36.

On the dating, see no.67; A.D.21 is the most likely alternative to an Augustan date. Edgar was uncertain how the name of the deceased should be read, and the nearest Egyptian parallel to 'Ἡλάριον is a Byzantine 'Ἡλάριος, which Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, recorded as a variation of 'Ἰλάριος. The *CIJ* photograph makes *alpha* the only doubtful letter, and no other attested name would fit. *CIJ* corrected the feminine form *χρηστή* and treated the deceased as male. However, -ov was a normal ending for neuter forms used as feminine names (where -ων was used for masculine names), and there are other examples of the -ε vocative ending being used for a woman (e.g. no.90), so it appears that Hilarion was female, as Lewis states, although there was a male St Hilarion at Gaza in the 4th century. The father's name, Philip, was used by Jews in Cyrenaica, Rome (*CIJ* 334) and Puteoli (*CIJ* 561), and is found as the name of several people in the N.T.: an apostle (e.g. Mt. x 3, Mk. iii 18, Lk. vi 14, Jn. i 43), an evangelist (e.g. Acts vi 5) and a son (e.g. Lk. iii 13) and a brother (Mt. xiv 3, Mk. vi 17) of Herod the Great. The *CPJ* prosopography has another Egyptian example, a well-documented man from Edfu at the end of the 1st century A.D.

Limestone stele, 52 x 28 cm., with recessed field. Letter forms: Α Ε Ι Γ Ω. Numeral: C.

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71 (CIJ ii no.1495): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): 17 B.C. or A.D.27. Stele; epitaph.

Alexandria Museum.

Text follows C.C. Edgar, *ASAE* 19 (1920) no.6, p.219.

ἐτους ιγ' | Τῦβι κβ'. | Δωσίθη χρη|στὲ πασίφιλε | ἔωρε χαῖρε· ||
ἐτῶν κε'.

In the 13th year, Tybi 22. Dositheos, excellent one, friend of all, untimely dead, farewell. 25 years old.

C.C. Edgar, 'Tomb-stones from Tell el Yahoudieh', *ASAE* 19 (1920), p.219 no.6 (facsimile; from the stone); H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), p.281 no.6 = *KS* i (1958), p.439; *SB* iii (1926), p.25 no.6165; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.408 no.1495 (photograph); *CPJ* iii (1964), p.154 no.1495.

L. Robert, *Hellenica* xi-xii (1960), p.261 n.4; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; G. Delling, 'Biblisch-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten', *BSAC* 22 (1974-5), p.11 n.5; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.274 n.1; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 n.36.

On the dating, see no.67. Dositheos was a popular name among Jews, and according to Tcherikover (*CPJ* i, p.xix) was used almost exclusively by Jews in the Hellenistic period. Edgar and Lietzmann regarded the -η ending here as a phonetic spelling of the vocative -εε, the form which is found in no.34, above. The form Δωσίθεος is noted by Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, and the index of *SB* gives the nominative of the name here as Δωσίθεος.

ἐτῶν (l.6) is usually written in full only when it is part of the formula ὥς ἐτῶν. Edgar noted that there is no trace of ὥς here, but he showed a small gap at the beginning of the line which could have been intended for it.

Rectangular limestone stele, 50 x 25 cm., with recessed field and decoration above it like an inverted pediment. Lettering with apices (according to Edgar's description; they are not visible in the rather faint *CIJ* photograph). Letter forms: A E C Ω.

INSCRIPTIONS

72 (CIJ ii no.1496): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): 21 B.C. or A.D.23. Stele; epitaph.

Alexandria Museum.

Text follows C.C. Edgar, *ASAE* 19 (1920) no.7, p.219.

Δωσίθεος Στοήτις | χρηστὸν ὥρε χαίρει· ὡς ἐτῶν | λε'. (ἔτους) ι'
Θὺθ 23'.

Dositheos, son of Stoetis, excellent one, untimely dead,
farewell. About 35 years old. In the 10th year, Thoth 23.

C.C. Edgar, 'Tomb-stones from Tell el Yahoudieh', *ASAE* 19 (1920), p.219 no.7 (facsimile; from the stone); H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), p.281 no.7 = *KS* i (1958), p.439; *SB* iii (1926), p.25 no.6166; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.409 no.1496; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.154 no.1496.

V.A. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic civilization and the Jews* (1959), p.346 n.7; L. Robert, *Hellenica* xi-xii (1960), p.261 n.4; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.274 n.1; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 n.36.

On the dating, see no.67. On the name Dositheos, see no.71. Stoetis is not otherwise recorded as a name used by Jews. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, and Foraboschi, *Onomasticon* give a total of seven other examples of its use, of which only one gives a genitive form, Στοήτεως. The genitive of the much commoner name Stotoetis is Στοτοήτιος (which Edgar suggested might be what was meant here) or -ήτεως.

Pediment-topped rectangular limestone stele, 41 x 25 cm., with recessed field and acroteria. Letter forms: A € C + Ω.

73 (CIJ ii no.1497): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): 6 B.C. Stele; epitaph.

Alexandria Museum.

Text follows D.M. Lewis, *CPJ* iii no.1497, p.154 (based on Edgar's reading).

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Νικομή|δη χρῆσ|τὲ πασί|φιλε χαῖ|ρε· ὥς (ἐτῶν) κ'. || (ἔτους) κε'
Χο(ῖ)ακ) η'.

(ἐτῶν) κ' (1.5): Lietzmann, *SB*, *CIJ* (ἐτῶν) κ[.]'

Nikomedes, excellent one, friend of all, farewell. About 20 years old. In the 25th year, Choiak 8 (?).

C.C. Edgar, 'Tomb-stones from Tell el Yahoudieh' *ASAE* 19 (1920), p.220 no.8 (facsimile; from the stone); H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), p.281 no.8 = *KS* i (1958), p.439; *SB* iii (1926), p.25 no.6167; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.409-410 no.1497 (photograph); *CPJ* iii (1964), p.154 no.1497.

M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.274; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 n.36.

The date can be regarded as certain, since Augustus' reign is the only one which lasted long enough within the period to which Edgar assigned the whole group of inscriptions (see no.67, above). The name Nikomedes does not occur otherwise in *CPJ* or *CIJ*. In 1.5, most editors printed a missing letter after *kappa* in the age, but Lewis (in *CPJ*) points out that there is no room for it.

Limestone stele, 46 x 24 cm., with recessed field, topped by a truncated pediment. Letter forms: A Ε Λ C Ω.

74 (*CIJ* ii no.1498): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): 5 B.C. (?). Stele; epitaph.

Alexandria Museum.

Text follows F. Preisigke, *SB* iii no.6168, p.25, (based on Edgar's reading) with additional indications of doubtful letters shown by Edgar.

Μάριος|v | χρῆστῃ | πασίφιλος | ἄλυσος κλαύ|σατε· ὥς ἐτῶν ||
εἴκοσι τρίω|v|. | (ἔτους) κε' Κα[ῖ]σ(αρος), Παῦ|vι λ'.

INSCRIPTIONS

Μάρτιο[v] (l.1): *CPJ* Μάρτιον

εἴκοσι (l.6): *CIJ* εἴ(κ)οσαι; *CPJ* εἴκ(ο)σαι

Marion, excellent woman, friend of all, who caused pain to none. Weep for her. About twenty-three years old. In the 25th (?) year of Caesar, Payni 30.

C.C. Edgar, 'Tomb-stones from Tell el Yahoudieh', *ASAE* 19 (1920), p.220 no.9 (facsimile; from the stone); H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), p.281 no.9 = *KS* i (1958), p.439; *SB* iii (1926), p.25 no.6168; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.410 no.1498 (photograph); *CPJ* iii (1964), p.154 no.1498.

L. Robert, *Hellenica* i (1940), p.22 n.7; M.N. Tod, 'Laudatory epithets in Greek epitaphs', *ABSA* 46 (1951), p.188 n.24; J. & L. Robert, *BE* (1958), p.352; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; S.M. Ruozzi Sala, *Lexicon nominum semiticorum* (1974), p.27; G. Dellings, 'Biblisch-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten', *BSAC* 22 (1974-5), p.22; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.275; U. Fischer, *Eschatologie und Jenseitserwartung* (1978), p.238; B.J. Brooton, *Women leaders in the ancient synagogue* (1982), p.73; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.95 no.70, p.100, p.106 no.106; G.H.R. Horsley, *New documents* iv (1987), p.226; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 n.40.

Date: a number of other documents still refer to Augustus in the genitive as Καίσαρος late into his reign: *SB* i 5246 (17th year), 982 (26th year), 4086 (33rd year). There is no reason to doubt that this inscription is from his reign, although his title must have been abbreviated to fit the available space. The letters in the lower right corner of the inscription were deleted by a round hole, apparently made so that the stone could be used as the pivot for a hinge.

Edgar expressed some doubt about the reading of the name in l.1. Marion is also found in *CPJ* 28.27, 40.47, 147.6, 149.4 & 22. Ruozzi-Sala sees it either as a diminutive of Maria, from the biblical Miriam, or a variant of Mareina. On the expression κλαύσατε (ll.4-5), which seems to be primarily Jewish, at least in Egypt, see nos.34 and 64. εἴκοσι (l.6) was printed with slightly differently spelling in the majuscule texts of Edgar and *CIJ*; the *CPJ* text seems to attempt to combine the two.

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Pediment-topped rectangular limestone stele, 49 x 26 cm., with recessed field and acroteria; round hole in the lower right corner. Α Ε C Ω.

75 (CIJ ii no.1499): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): 4 B.C. Stele; epitaph.

Alexandria Museum.

Text follows C.C. Edgar, *ASAE* 19 (1920) no.10, p.220.

Ν[ι]κων χ[ρη] | στέ χα[ίρε] | ὥς (ἐτῶν) μ[.]'. | (ἔτους) κς'
Μεσο[ρη] κθ'.

Nikon, excellent one, farewell. About 40(+?) years old. In the 26th year, Mesore 29.

C.C. Edgar, 'Tomb-stones from Tell el Yahoudieh', *ASAE* 19 (1920), p.220 no.10 (facsimile; from the stone); H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehoudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), p.281 no.10 = *KS* i (1958), p.439; *SB* iii (1926), p.25 no.6169; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.410-1 no.1499 (photograph); *CPJ* iii (1964), p.154 no.1499.

M.N. Tod, 'Laudatory epithets in Greek epitaphs', *ABSA* 46 (1951), p.188 n.24; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.275; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 n.36.

Date: as with no.73, Augustus is the only ruler within the relevant period to have reigned for the required number of years. Two Jewish men called Nikon are recorded at Edfu: *CPJ* 188.1 (1st century B.C.) and 170 etc. (A.D.66-81). See also no.20, above.

Pediment-topped rectangular limestone stele, 45 x 25 cm., with recessed field and acroteria. Letter forms: Α Ε C Ω. Numeral: 5.

76 (CIJ ii no.1500): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): A.D.4. Stele; epitaph.

Alexandria Museum.

Text follows D.M. Lewis, *CPJ* iii no.1500, p.154 (based on Edgar's reading).

INSCRIPTIONS

Σαμβάθιν ἄωρε | ἄτεκνε χρηστὴ | πασίφιλε χαίρε | {ε}ὼς ἐτῶν
 ιθ'. | ἔτοδς δλ' Χοΐαχ ηκ'.

Sambathion, untimely dead, childless, excellent woman,
 friend of all, farewell. About 19 years old. In the 34th year,
 Choiak 28.

C.C. Edgar, 'Tomb-stones from Tell el Yahoudieh', *ASAE* 19 (1920), p.221 no.11 (facsimile; from the stone); H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), p.281 no.11 = *KS* i (1958), p.439; *SB* iii (1926), p.25 no.6170; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.411 no.1500; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.154 no.1500.

L. Robert, *Hellenica* i (1940), p.22 n.7; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; S.M. Ruozzi Sala, *Lexicon nominum semiticorum* (1974), p.35; G. Delling, 'Biblisch-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten', *BSAC* 22 (1974-5), p.27; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.275; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.95 no.57, p.100, p.109 no.228; G.H.R. Horsley, *New documents* iv (1987), p.224; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 n.36.

The 34th year must refer to the reign of Augustus, according to the limits placed by Edgar (see no.67, above). The numerals for both the year and the month (although not the age) have the lower digit written before the higher one. The stele is much more elaborate than most from Tell el-Yehoudieh, according to Edgar's description.

The name is a feminine version of the common 'sabbath' names (see no.58), with the -μβ- spelling favoured in Egypt. The -iv ending is a vulgarisation of -iov (cf. no.80, below); the feminine name Sambathion is found in *CPJ* 28.26 and 421.187. V.A. Tcherikover (*CPJ* iii p.44) shows that it became popular in the early Roman period. Horsley notes that the description of the woman as ἄτεκνος (l.2) implies that she was married. This can presumably be inferred whenever the epithet is used, but is of particular significance here because of the woman's age, since there are few other indications of the age at which Jewish women were likely to be married (see further no.83, below). The stone-cutter's error of writing εως for ὡς is paralleled in *SB* iii 6120, probably of 2 B.C. and no.89 below (perhaps also no.79).

Rectangular limestone stele, 46 x 26 cm., with the field enclosed by columns

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with capitals (surmounted by a basket or vase) and a denticulated cornice. It is topped by a pediment containing a bodkin and comb (according to Edgar's description; the 'bodkin' is more likely to be a spindle). Letter forms: A € C Ω.

77 (CIJ ii no.1501): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): late 1st century B.C.– early 1st century A.D. Stele; epitaph.

Alexandria Museum.

Text follows C.C. Edgar, *ASAE* 19 (1920) no.12, p.221.

[[K.....]] | ἄωρε πασίφιλε | χρηστὲ χαῖρε ὥς ἐ|τῶν εἴκοσι
δ[ύο]. | (ἔτους) [[.....]]

CIJ minuscule text omits χαῖρε (l.3)

εἴκοσι δ[ύο] (l.4): *CPJ* εικοσιδύο

K....., untimely dead, friend of all, excellent one, farewell.

About twenty-two years old. In the ... year

C.C. Edgar, 'Tomb-stones from Tell el Yahoudieh', *ASAE* 19 (1920), p.221 no.12 (facsimile; from the stone); H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), p.281 no.12 = *KS* i (1958), p.439; *SB* iii (1926), pp.25-6 no.6171; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.412 no.1501 (photograph); *CPJ* iii (1964), p.155 no.1501.

M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.274 n.1; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.100; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 n.36.

The name of the deceased in l.1, and perhaps also the date in l.5, were deliberately erased. The right side of the stele is broken, but the ends of ll.2 and 3 are complete. The name might have been erased through official condemnation or personal animosity, but it is surprising to find the date also erased. There are Egyptian examples of rulers' names being removed from dating formulae, but not within the period to which Edgar assigned this inscription. On dating, see no.67, above.

INSCRIPTIONS

Fragmentary pediment-topped rectangular limestone stele, 61 x 38 cm., with recessed field, patterned cornice and acroteria. Letter forms: A E C Ω.

78 (CIJ ii no.1502): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): late 1st century B.C.– early 1st century A.D. Stele; epitaph.

Alexandria Museum.

Text follows C.C. Edgar, *ASAE* 19 (1920) no.13, p.221.

Δωσᾶς ἄωρος | χρηστὸς πασίφιλος ἄλοιπος χαῖρε | ὥς ιη'. |
 Τευφίλα γυνὴ || αὐτοῦ ἀνέθηκεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ.

ἄλοιπος (l.3): *CPJ* ἄλοιπ(ος); l. ἄλυπος

Dosas, untimely dead, excellent one, friend of all, who caused pain to none, farewell. About 18 (years old).
 Theophila his wife raised (this stone) on his behalf.

C.C. Edgar, 'Tomb-stones from Tell el Yahoudieh', *ASAE* 19 (1920), p.221 no.13 (facsimile; from the stone); H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), p.281 no.13 = *KS* i (1958), p.439; *SB* iii (1926), p.26 no.6172; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.412-3 no.1502 (photograph); *CPJ* iii (1964), p.155 no.1502.

C. Spicq, 'Le lexique de l'amour', *Mnemosyne* 8 (1955), p.32; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.274 n.1.

Dosas is found as a name used by Jews in a number of papyri: *CPJ* 46.1, 215, 224.5, 242.1, 278.1. Lietzmann related it to Δωσάριν (see no.85). Hebrew variants of Dositheos, Dosa (דוסא) and Dostai (דוסתאי), are noted by M. Jastrow, *Dictionary*, s.v. On the spelling of the wife's name, Teuphila, see no.130. Dosas was married very early. Horsley discusses the age of Jewish women at marriage in *New Documents* iv, but there is virtually no epigraphic evidence for men; it is only the chance of his early death that reveals Dosas' age (or at least his maximum age) at marriage. M. Humbert & C. Preaux, 'Recherches sur le recensement dans l'Égypte romaine' (*P.Lugd-Bat.* v 1952), pp.160-1, collected five examples of men who are shown by census returns to have been married earlier than 20, compared to 51 examples of women married before they were 20; the youngest age given

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for a married man is 16 (*P.Brux.* col.V). They stressed, however, that this information cannot be used for establishing an average age at marriage.

This stele is unusual both in specifying who erected it and in describing the deceased man in the nominative rather than vocative; even the very common *χρηστέ* occurs here with the nominative *-ος* ending. Although the vocative was in regular use at Tell el-Yehoudieh, its replacement by the nominative has been noted as a feature of New Testament Greek (C.F.D. Moule, *An idiom book of New Testament Greek* (Cambridge, 1953), p.32; Blass, Debrunner & Funk, §147).

The principal epigraphic use of *ἀνέθηκεν* in Egypt is in dedications to divinities, often with the god's name in the dative (e.g. *SB* i 604) or with the phrase *ἐπ' ἀγοσῶ* (e.g. *SB* i 644). A tombstone from Abydos for two brothers who died young (*SB* i 729) ends with *ἀνέθηκεν Σεράμδι ...*, but does not identify the commemorator. The verb is associated with *ὑπέρ* in *SB* i 987 from Akoris, where a man makes a dedication to Ammon *ὑπὲρ τοῦ τέκνου καὶ τῆς συμβίου*, and in a different way in 989: *ὑπὲρ εὐχαριστίας*, but there do not seem to be any parallels for the phrase in an epitaph. On the significance of *ὑπέρ*, see no.13, above. There may be an implication that the wife is carrying out her husband's wishes, but *ὑπέρ* often indicates people without direct involvement.

Lewis thought from the *CIJ* photograph that the *omicron* and *sigma* of *ἄλοιπος* (l.3) were the wrong way round, but *omicron* and *sigma* are difficult to distinguish in many of the photographs, and there seems no compelling reason to reject Edgar's reading. The final letters of ll.1 and 3 are written outside the frame. In l.4, the L symbol was omitted. On the date, see no.67, above.

Pediment-topped rectangular limestone stele, 34 x 23 cm., with recessed field and acroteria. Letter forms: A E N C W.

79 (*CIJ* ii no.1503): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): late 1st century B.C.– early 1st century A.D. Stele; epitaph.

Alexandria Museum.

Text follows C.C. Edgar, *ASAE* 19 (1920) no.14, p.222, with additional indication of lost text.

[- - -] | θερου χαῖρε | χρη(σ)τή· {σ}ώς | (ἐ)τῶν πε'(ντε).

INSCRIPTIONS

l.3: χρητης ως on the stone

l.4 των πετεν on the stone; *SB* [.]στ[.]ν

.... (daughter) of ...theros, farewell, excellent girl. About five (?) years old.

C.C. Edgar, 'Tomb-stones from Tell el Yahoudieh', *ASAE* 19 (1920), p.222 no.14 (facsimile; from the stone); H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), p.282 no.14 = *KS* i (1958), p.439; *SB* iii (1926), p.26 no.6173; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.413 no.1503 (photograph); *CPJ* iii (1964), p.155 no.1503.

M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.274 n.1; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.94 no.25, p.99; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 n.36.

Edgar did not indicate the lost line at the beginning, which is clear from the *CIJ* photograph and might have contained up to ten letters. He therefore thought the name was complete, although he regarded the reading as doubtful. In fact, it appears to be the end of a patronymic. No attested Egyptian name would fit. 'Ελεόθερος or a derivative is possible, but is not found as a name in Preisigke's *Namenbuch* or Foraboschi's *Onomasticon*, and in view of the number of mistakes in the rest of the inscription it is likely that the name too was not written correctly. The stone-cutter (or his source) made more errors than in any other short Tell el-Yehoudieh inscription, including mistakes with individual letters and the inversion of the χρηστη χαίτε formula. At the end of l.3, either of the lunate *sigmas* might represent an attempt at *epsilon*, meaning that ΕΩC ΤΩΝ (repeating the error of εως for ως noted at no.76) or ΩC ΕΤΩΝ was intended. On the date, see no.67, above.

Pediment-topped rectangular limestone stele, 52 x 25 cm., with a recessed field enclosed by columns; guide-lines. Letter forms: Α Ε C Ω.

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80 (CIJ ii no.1504): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): late 1st century B.C.– early 1st century A.D. Stele; epitaph.

Alexandria Museum.

Text follows C.C. Edgar, *ASAE* 19 (1920) no.15, p.222.

Φιλούτιν χρηστή | χαῖρε πασίφιλε | ἄωρε ὥς (ἐτῶν) ιε'.

Philoution, excellent girl, farewell, friend of all, untimely dead. About 15 years old.

C.C. Edgar, 'Tomb-stones from Tell el Yahoudieh', *ASAE* 19 (1920), p.222 no.15 (facsimile; from the stone); H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), p.282 no.15 = *KS* i (1958), p.439; *SB* iii (1926), p.26 no.6174; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.414 no.1504; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.155 no.1504.

M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.274 n.1; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.94 no.40, p.100, p.117 no.497; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 n.36.

The name Philoution is not found elsewhere, but is clearly a neuter derivative (used as the feminine form) of the common name Philous, which is found in use by Jews in no.91 below and in *CJZC* 63c and f from Cyrenaica. The practice of writing the ending -ιον as -iv was common at Tell el-Yehoudieh (e.g. nos.76, 84, 85, 88, 90) and generally in Egypt, although not invariable (see no.75). C.D. Buck, *The Greek dialects*, p.43, notes the replacement of -ιο- by -ι- or -ει- as a widespread feature of Hellenistic Greek, producing forms such as Διονόσις. The χρηστή χαῖρε formula precedes the other epithets rather than following them as it usually does. On the date of the inscription, see no.67, above.

Pediment-topped rectangular limestone stele, 45 x 31 cm., with a recessed field enclosed by columns with capitals, and acroteria. Letter forms: A € C Ω.

INSCRIPTIONS

81 (CIJ ii no.1505): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): late 1st century B.C.– early 1st century A.D. Stele; epitaph.

Alexandria Museum.

Text follows C.C. Edgar, *ASAE* 19 (1920) no.16, p.222.

Ἰάκουβος | ὡς ἐτῶν κβ'.

Jacob. About 22 years old.

C.C. Edgar, 'Tomb-stones from Tell el Yahoudieh', *ASAE* 19 (1920), p.222 no.16 (facsimile; from the stone); H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), p.282 no.17 = *KS* i (1958), p.439; *SB* iii (1926), p.26 no.6175; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.414 no.1505 (photograph); *CPJ* iii (1964), p.155 no.1505.

M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; S.M. Ruozzi Sala, *Lexicon nominum semiticorum* (1974), p.18; G. Delling, 'Biblisch-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten', *BSAC* 22 (1974-5), p.16; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.274 n.1; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.100.

The stele is of the commonest Tell el-Yehoudieh form, but in this case the name of the deceased was written in the pediment and not in the main field; hence the brevity of the text. Edgar noted that the field itself was ruled and that faint vestiges of letters could be seen in places, but nothing was legible; he suggested that there had been a metrical inscription. On the spelling of the deceased's name, see no.56. On the date, see no.67.

Pediment-topped rectangular limestone stele, 47 x 29 cm., with recessed field and acroteria. Letter forms: Α Ε C Ω.

82 (CIJ ii no.1506): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): late 1st century B.C.– early 1st century A.D. Stele; epitaph.

Alexandria Museum.

Text follows C.C. Edgar, *ASAE* 19 (1920) no.17, p.222.

Τευφία: ὡς εἰκουσι ἡπ|τὰ ἡτῶν.

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εἴκουσι ἡπτά ἡτῶν (Il.1-2): 1. εἴκοσι ἐπτά ἡτῶν

Teuphia. About twenty-seven years old.

C.C. Edgar, 'Tomb-stones from Tell el Yahoudieh', *ASAE* 19 (1920), p.222 no.17 (facsimile; from the stone); H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), p.282 no.17 = *KS* i (1958), p.439; *SB* iii (1926), p.26 no.6176; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.415 no.1506 (photograph); *CPJ* iii (1964), p.155 no.1506.

M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.274 n.1; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.95 no.83, p.117 no.481.

The name Teuphia is not found elsewhere, and is likely to be a variant or misspelling of Teuphila, as F. Bilabel suggested in *SB*. That name, a form of Theophila, also occurs in no.78. Despite the extreme brevity of the inscription, the stone-cutter used full words rather than the usual symbol and numerals for the deceased woman's age. He wrote *eta* instead of *epsilon* twice. On the date, see no.67.

Fragmentary limestone stele, 27 x 18 cm., recessed field, denticulated cornice. Letter forms: A E C Ω.

83 (CIJ ii no.1507): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): late 1st century B.C.– early 1st century A.D. Stele; epitaph.

Alexandria Museum.

Text follows D.M. Lewis, *CPJ* iii no.1507, p.155 (based on Edgar's reading).

Ἀσουα[....] νέα[ν] | ἀκμαίαν [κλαῦσ]ον | ἐπιστάς [κ]λάε πα|τήρ
καὶ μήτηρ οἱ | πυρόμενοι ἐν||εαέτην· κλαύσατε | [ἀ]δελφοί.

[κλαῦσ]ον (1.2): Edgar, Lietzmann, *CIJ* [ἄωρ]ον; *SB* [...]ον
ἐπιστάς [κ]λάε (1.3): Edgar, *SB* ἐπιστασι[.]ας

INSCRIPTIONS

Stand near and weep for Asua..., young, ripe for marriage
[or beautiful]. Weep, father and mother who are consumed
with grief, for her, the nine-year-old. Weep for her,
brothers.

C.C. Edgar, 'Tomb-stones from Tell el Yahoudieh', *ASAE* 19 (1920), p.223 no.18 (facsimile; from the stone); H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), p.282 no.18 = *KS* i (1958), p.440; *SB* iii (1926) p.26 no.6177; A. Wilhelm, *Αγιοπιάκα* (1946), pp.54-5; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.415-6 no.1507; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.155 no.1507.

J. & L. Robert, *BE* (1946-7), p.367 no.238; G. Zuntz, Review of *CPJ* iii, *JSS* 10 (1965), pp.291-2; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.274 n.1; U. Fischer, *Eschatologie und Jenseitserwartung* (1978), p.238; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.94 no.30, p.100, p.108 no.185; G.H.R. Horsley, *New documents* iv (1987), p.226; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 n.40.

On the date of the inscription, see no.67. The most likely restoration of the partially lost name is the Semitic 'Ασουάδα noted by Lietzmann from *Princeton University expedition to Syria* iii a no.391; cf. the masculine name אסור, 'black' (ibid. iv c p.299). A feminine name 'Ασοῦς used in Egypt is listed in Preisigke's *Namenbuch* and Foraboschi's *Onomasticon*. The name here should be in the accusative.

The vocabulary is noticeably different from that normally used in Tell el-Yehoudieh prose epitaphs, and seems to have been influenced strongly by metrical patterns, as Lewis notes. There are great similarities to no.37; this led Lewis to propose the restoration [κλαῦσον in l.2 and Lietzmann to propose [κ]λάε in l.3. The similarities are enough to suggest that there was some intention of producing a metrical inscription here too; see comments on no.37. On weeping in Leontopolis epitaphs, see no.34.

ῥέα (l.1) corresponds to μικρός in no.37, probably with the same meaning, since ῥεος is not used elsewhere among Egyptian prose epitaphs in strings of epithets (cf. *SB* iv 7289 for its use in verse). ἀκμαῖα (l.2) also occurs in no.31, where its link with 'readiness for marriage' is clear from the rest of the epitaph. Here, the connection seems more tenuous in view of the girl's age. Evidence for Jewish age at marriage is discussed by G.H.R. Horsley, *New documents* iv (1987), pp.222-7 and by G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau*, pp.51-2.

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The epigraphic material, almost entirely from Rome, produces a range of ages for Jewish women at marriage from 12 to 18, while rabbinic discussions assume betrothal at about the age of 12 followed by cohabitation a year later. Some of Horsley's evidence for unmarried women in their late teens or twenties depends on the very questionable assumption that women commemorated by their parents were not, and never had been, married. Even so, there is nothing to suggest that a girl of nine would be considered ready for marriage. In literature, ἀκμαῖα is sometimes used in a matrimonial (Lucian, *Tim.* 17; *A.P.* vii 188) or at least sexual (*A.P.* vii 221, xii 14) context, but it is not clear that it always has such implications, and the image of ἄνθος ἀκμαῖον ('flower in full bloom') seems to be used more generally for female beauty (*A.P.* vii 476 (an epitaph for a girl); Anacreon i 51,4; *Greg.Nys.*, *PG* xxxii 178.14). In this case, 'beautiful' might therefore be an alternative translation to 'ripe for marriage'; the *CIJ* translation is '(arrivée) à la fleur de l'âge'. See also comments on no.33, l.4, above.

ἐπιστάς (ll.2-3) is a variation of the formulae which call on passers-by to go up to a tomb and read the epitaph, as noted by Zuntz.

πυρώμενοι (l.5) derives from the verb πυρόω, and is a variant spelling of either πυρούμενοι or πεπυρώμενοι, 'burnt'; Edgar preferred the latter (*ASAE* 22 (1922), p.16); other forms of the verb are found in nos.32 and 37. See no.32 for a detailed examination of its significance. The sense here appears to be metaphorical, indicating the depth of the parents' grief. Lietzmann thought there was a reference to cremation, and Zuntz suggests that κλάε should be taken as an imperfect, and that ἐννεαέτην is the object of πυρώμενοι, which can thus be taken in its literal sense: 'her father and mother wept while cremating her'. This is certainly possible, although his objection that κλάε would, if it were an imperative, be aorist like the other imperatives is not a substantial one: in no.34 κατάκλαέ με is clearly an imperative despite the use of the aorist κλάσαστε twice. Zuntz himself noted that this inscription 'is made up of unco-ordinated bits of traditional verse-epitaphs', so grammatical consistency cannot be expected.

Stele, 49 x 29 cm., field enclosed by columns and cornice. Letter forms: Α Ε C Ω.

INSCRIPTIONS

84 (CIJ ii no.1514): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): 27 B.C. Stele; epitaph.

Cairo Museum.

Text follows D.M. Lewis, *CPJ* iii no.1514, p.159 (based on Edgar's reading).

Μάρων | ἱέρισα χρ|ηστῇ πα|σίφιλε κ|αὶ ἔλυπε κ||αὶ φιλογί|των
χαῖρε· ὦ|ς ἐτῶν ν'. | (ἔτους) γ' Καίσαρ(ος), Π|αῦνι γ'.

ἱέρισα (l.2): l. ἱέρισσα

φιλογίτων (ll.6-7): l. φιλογείτων

Marion, of priestly family, excellent woman, friend of all, and who caused pain to none, and a friend of your neighbours, farewell. About 50 years old. In the third year of Caesar, Payni 13.

C.C. Edgar, 'More tomb-stones from Tell el Yahoudieh', *ASAE* 22 (1922), p.13 no.25 (facsimile; from the stone); *SEG* i (1923), p.135 no.574; H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehoudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), p.283 no.25 = *KS* i (1958), p.442; *SB* iii (1926), pp.77-8 no.6651; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.426 no.1514; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.159 no.1514; B.J. Broton, *Women leaders in the ancient synagogue* (1982), pp.73-4, 78-99.

L. Robert, *Hellenica* i (1940), p.26 n.4; xi-xii (1960), p.383 n.6; M.N. Tod, 'Laudatory epithets in Greek epitaphs', *ABSA* 46 (1951), p.185, p.188 n.24, p.189; J. & L. Robert, *BE* (1952), p.137 no.31; (1958), p.352 no.542; (1959), p.274; C. Spicq, 'Le lexique de l'amour', *Mnemosyne* 8 (1955), pp.31-2; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; S.M. Ruozi Sala, *Lexicon nominum semiticorum* (1974), p.26; G. Dellling, 'Biblisch-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten', *BSAC* 22 (1974-5), p.16 n.4, p.22, p.27 n.3; G. Mussies, 'Greek in Palestine and the Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern ii (1976), p.1044; C. Balconi, 'Documenti grecchi e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.274; B. Boyaval, 'Quelques remarques sur les épithètes funéraires grecques d'Égypte', *ZPE* 23 (1976), p.230; S.J.D. Cohen, 'Women in the synagogues of antiquity', *Conservative Judaism* 34.2 (1980), pp.26-7; A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (1985), p.130; p.162 n.190; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.96 no.113, p.100, p.106 no.107; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in

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Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 n.36, p.698 n.170.

This inscription and the others published by Edgar at the same time (nos.33-37, 85-91) were acquired for the Egyptian Antiquities Service from villagers near Tell el-Yehoudieh. Edgar thought they belonged as a whole to the Augustan age, although an Augustan dating is certain only for this one.

The name Μάριν can be masculine (*CJZC* p.3), but is here clearly a variant of the feminine Μαρτίον (see on the spelling no.80 and J. & L. Robert, *BE* (1948), p.209), itself probably a form of Miriam. The name was common in both Egypt (nos.74, 100, 103; *CJP* 28, 40, 147, 149) and Cyrenaica (see Index).

ἱέρισσα was regarded by Edgar as a patronymic, and Lietzmann first saw that it was the word for 'priestess', which in its more usual spelling ἱέρισσα also occurs on a mummy-label (*SB* i 5444) and in a dedication to Ammon dated A.D.180 (*SB* i 18). Brooten (pp.75-6) notes two other Jewish examples: *CIJ* 315 from Rome, 3rd-4th century A.D., using the spelling with one *sigma*; and *CIJ* 1007 from Beth She'arim, probably 4th century A.D., using the form ἱερεία. She discusses (pp.78-99) three possible explanations of the word: (i) that it indicates a woman of priestly family, daughter or wife of a *kohen* (ἡ τοῦ ἱερέως in *CIJ* 375 is an unambiguous way of indicating a priest's wife); (ii) that it means 'priestess' in the cultic sense (which is only possible in the case of Marion, who could have served at the Leontopolis temple; Cohen points out that nothing at all is known about the rituals in use there); (iii) that it denotes a woman with synagogue functions such as giving the blessing or reading from the Torah. She shows that (ii) and (iii) are not impossible, but has no evidence that such 'priestesses' did exist. She remains undecided between the three explanations, but the lack of positive support for (ii) and (iii) seems to make it most likely that Marion came from a priestly family. The term ἱερεὺς is used in several Jewish papyri (*CPJ* 120, 121, 139), but without any details which would indicate that in Egypt it signified anything other than hereditary status.

The text of the epitaph is slightly unusual in using καί to separate some of the adjectives, and also in applying the epithet φιλογ(ε)ῖτων, which seems to occur nowhere else.

Stele, 45 x 22 cm., recessed field. Letter forms: Α Ε C Ω.

INSCRIPTIONS

85 (CIJ ii no.1515): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): mid-2nd century B.C.– early 2nd century A.D. (25 B.C.?). Stele; epitaph.

Cairo Museum.

Text follows C.C. Edgar, *ASAE* 22 (1922) no.26, p.14.

Δωσάριν· | ὡς ἐτῶν εἰκο|σιπέντε λό|χους. (ἔτους) ζ' | 'Αθὺρ θ'.

Dosarion, about twenty-five years old, in childbirth. In the 6th year, Hathyr 9.

C.C. Edgar, 'More tomb-stones from Tell el Yahoudieh', *ASAE* 22 (1922), p.14 no.26 (facsimile; from the stone); *SEG* i (1923), p.136 no.575; H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehoudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), p.284 no.26 = *KS* i (1958), p.442; *SB* iii (1926), p.78 no.6652; J. Zingerle, 'Leges sacrae', *ARW* 27 (1929), p.278 n.1; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.427 no.1515; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.159 no.1515.

L. Robert, *Hellenica* i (1940), p.23 n.6; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.274 n.1; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.95 no.74, p.100, p.113 no.338; G.H.R. Horsley, *New documents* iv (1987), p.224.

Although Edgar favoured an Augustan dating for this inscription (see no.84), 47 B.C. and A.D.18, 44 or 58 are among the other possibilities. Edgar, followed by *SEG* and *CIJ*, regarded Dosarin as a Nabataean name derived from the god Δουσάρης. In fact, it is a variant of Δωσάριον (see no.80 on the spelling with -iv used here), which *CPJ* 421 shows being used by two Jewish women in Egypt. The masculine form Δωσαρίων also occurs twice in the *CPJ* prosopography, and cf. Δωσᾶς in no.78 and *CJZC* 54a. The name also occurs in non-Jewish contexts, e.g. *CIL* v 92, *CIG* 4292, *OGIS* 770.1. On epigraphic evidence for death in childbirth, see no.106. Robert regarded λόχους as a feminine nominative formed on the analogy of feminine names ending -ους.

Lewis notes that the inscription without the date at the end could be read as a pentameter; this requires the first syllable of ἐτῶν to be taken as long, and might explain why the age is written out as complete words. If the metre is deliberate, the concurrence of a name, age and otherwise unknown epithet must indicate a specially composed line rather than (as appears to be the case in nos.37 and 83) a collection of stock phrases.

Pediment-topped rectangular stele, 38 x 26 cm., with recessed field; the

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surface is decorated with small circles. Letter forms: Α Ε C Ω. Numeral: ζ.

86 (CIJ ii no.1516): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): A.D.5. Stele; epitaph.

Cairo Museum.

Text follows C.C. Edgar, *ASAE* 22 (1922) no.28, p.14.

Σαββάθιν | μικρά φιλάδελφε | ὥς (ἐτῶν) ις'. | (ἔτους) λδ'
Πα[...] ι'.

ι' (1.5) omitted by *CIJ* and *CPJ*

Sabbathion, little girl, who loved your brothers. About 16 years old. In the 34th year, Pachon/Payni 10 (?).

C.C. Edgar, 'More tomb-stones from Tell el Yahoudieh', *ASAE* 22 (1922), p.14 no.27 (facsimile; from the stone); *SEG* i (1923), p.136 no.576; H. Lietzmann 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), p.254 no.27 = *KS* i (1958), p.442; *SB* iii (1926), p.78 no.6653; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.427 no.1516; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.159 no.1516.

L. Robert, *Hellenica* i (1940), p.22 n.7; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; S.M. Ruozzi Sala, *Lexicon nominum semiticorum* (1974), p.32; G. Dellings, 'Biblisch-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten', *BSAC* 22 (1974-5), p.27 n.3; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.275; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.100; G.H.R. Horsley, *New documents* iv (1987), p.225.

The deceased bore a 'sabbath' name in a form typical of the early Roman period (see no.58; the masculine version of this form is found at no.59); on the -iv ending see no.80. Edgar noted that the second *alpha* of the name was added after the rest of the text. The epithets used are discussed under no.64 (μικρά) and no.113 (φιλάδελφος). The regnal year probably belongs to Augustus; the only likely alternative is 82 B.C., in the 34th year of Ptolemy IX Soter II (after his restoration in 88), but the form of the name is against that. If the month in the last line is Payni, the *iota* which Edgar read might be its last letter rather than a numeral.

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Pediment-topped rectangular stele, 68 x 22 cm., with denticulated cornice and acroteria. Letter forms: A E C Ω. Numeral: ζ.

87 (CIJ ii no.1517): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): mid-2nd century B.C.– early 2nd century A.D. Stele; epitaph.

Cairo Museum.

Text follows D.M. Lewis, *CPJ* iii no.1517, p.159 (based on Edgar's reading).

Θῆτος | ὥς ἐτῶν | {(ἐτῶν)} γ'.

Thetos. About 3 years old. [or About .. years old. In the 3rd year.]

C.C. Edgar, 'More tomb-stones from Tell el Yahoudieh', *ASAE* 22 (1922), p.14 no.28 (facsimile; from the stone); *SEG* i (1923), p.136 no.577; H. Lietzmann 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), p.284 no.28 = *KS* i (1958), p.442; *SB* iii (1926), p.78 no.6654; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.427-8 no.1517; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.159 no.1517.

M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123.

The name Thetos, which seems to be complete, is not attested elsewhere. It appears that the stone-cutter inserted a superfluous L symbol after writing ἐτῶν (see nos.91 and 97 for the same apparent mistake). It is also possible that the age of the deceased was omitted and that 1.3 gives a regnal year. This was noted in *SB*, as was the possibility that L represents 'half' rather than 'year', meaning that Thetos was aged 3½. The latter suggestion has little to support it: the few epitaphs which give an age with a half-year (e.g. *SB* i 1208, a mummy-label) use some form of the word ἥμις in full, and the symbol for ½ used in papyri was a curved stroke rather than two straight lines at right-angles.

Pediment-topped rectangular stele, 35 x 21 cm., with acroteria. Letter forms: E C Ω.

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88 (CIJ ii no.1518): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): mid-2nd century B.C.– early 2nd century A.D. Stele; epitaph.

Cairo Museum.

Text follows C.C. Edgar, *ASAE* 22 (1922) no.29, p.15.

Νεθάνιν | πασίφιλε.

Nethanion, friend of all.

C.C. Edgar, 'More tomb-stones from Tell el Yahoudieh', *ASAE* 22 (1922), p.15 no.29 (facsimile; from the stone); *SEG* i (1923), p.136 no.578; H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehoudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), p.284 no.29 = *KS* i (1958), p.443; *SB* iii (1926), p.78 no.6655; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.428 no.1518; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.159 no.1518.

M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; S.M. Ruozzi Sala, *Lexicon nominum semiticorum* (1974), p.29; G. Dellling, 'Biblisch-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten', *BSAC* 22 (1974-5), p.7 n.5, p.28; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.100, p.106 no.116.

The deceased is feminine, as noted by Lewis, and her name has an ending -iv for -iov (cf. no.80). It is not listed otherwise in Preisigke's *Namenbuch* or Foraboschi's *Onomasticon*, but the masculine name Nethanis occurs in no.41 above, and appears to derive from the biblical Nathan or Nethaniah. Edgar thought that the final *epsilon* of the adjective might have been changed to *eta*, but was unsure because of the worn state of the end of the line. The feminine form with *eta* does occur elsewhere (see Epithets Index) although it is not usual; see e.g. no.70 for the feminine form ending with *epsilon*. The lack of both an age and a regnal year is unique among Tell el-Yehoudieh prose inscriptions for which complete texts survive. Edgar gave no indication of lost text in this case, but in view of his comment on the difficulty of reading l.2, it is possible that something further is missing.

Pediment-topped rectangular stele, 47 x 23 cm., with acroteria. Letter forms: A ∈ L.

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89 (CIJ ii no.1519): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): 5 B.C.(?). Stele; epitaph.

Cairo Museum.

Text follows C.C. Edgar, *ASAE* 22 (1922) no.30, p.15.

Παππίων ἄωρε | χρηστὲ ἄλυ|πε πασίφιλε | χαῖρε· {ε}ὥς ἐ|τῶν
λ[.]'. || (ἔτους) κε' Παχῶν | ιθ'.

{ε}ὥς (l.4): *CPJ* ὥς

Pappion, untimely dead, excellent one, who caused pain to none, friend of all, farewell. About 30(+?) years old. In the 25th year, Pachon 19.

C.C. Edgar, 'More tomb-stones from Tell el Yahoudieh', *ASAE* 22 (1922), p.15 no.30 (facsimile; from the stone); *SEG* i (1923), p.136 no.579; H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), p.284 no.30 = *KS* i (1958), p.443; *SB* iii (1926), p.78 no.6656; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.428 no.1519; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.159 no.1519.

M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.275; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.100; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 n.36.

The name Pappion was very common in Egypt, and there are other Jewish occurrences (see Names Index). On the not infrequent mistake of writing εως for ὥς (l.4), cf. no.76. On the epithets, see nos.41 and 43. The regnal year is very likely to belong to the reign of Augustus; the 25th year of Ptolemy XII (Auletes) occurred while he was in exile.

Stele, 32 x 26 cm., recessed field. Letter forms: A/A € C Ω.

90 (CIJ ii no.1520): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): 54 or 3 B.C. Stele; epitaph.

Cairo Museum.

Text follows C.C. Edgar, *ASAE* 22 (1922) no.31, p.15.

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Ταούτιν | ὡς ἐτῶν | κε'. | (ἔτους) κζ' Ἐπιπ | κε'.

Taoution. About 25 years old. In the 27th year, Epeiph 25.

C.C. Edgar, 'More tomb-stones from Tell el Yahoudieh', *ASAE* 22 (1922), p.15 no.31 (facsimile; from the stone); *SEG* i (1923), p.136 no.580; H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), p.584 no.31 = *KS* i (1958), p.443; *SB* iii (1926), p.78 no.6657; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.429 no.1520; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.159 no.1520.

V.A. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic civilization and the Jews* (1959), p.346 n.7; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.275; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.95 no.75, p.122 no.645.

The name Taoution also occurs in no.66 (see no.80 on the -iv ending). It is a form of the Egyptian name Ταούς. As with no.89, the regnal year (l.4) is probably from the reign of Augustus, but 54 B.C. (Ptolemy XII (Auletes)) is also possible. The spelling of Epeiph in l.4 occurs in documents in *SB* i-v from the 1st century B.C. to the 3rd century A.D.

Pediment-topped rectangular stele, 47 x 24 cm., with recessed field and acroteria. Letter forms: Α Ε ° C Ω.

91 (CIJ ii no.1521): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): mid-2nd century B.C.– early 2nd century A.D. Stele; epitaph.

Cairo Museum.

Text follows D.M. Lewis, *CPJ* iii no.1521, p.159 (based on Edgar's reading).

Φιλοῦς πασί|φίλος χρη|στή χαῖρε· ὡς ἐτῶν ((ἐτῶν)) μ'.

Philous, friend of all, excellent woman, farewell. About 40 years old. [or About .. years old. In the 40th year.]

C.C. Edgar, 'More tomb-stones from Tell el Yahoudieh', *ASAE* 22 (1922), p.15 no.32 (facsimile; from the stone); *SEG* i (1923), p.136 no.581; H. Lietzmann, 'Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehudieh', *ZNW* 22 (1923), p.284 no.32 = *KS* i (1958), p.443; *SB* iii (1926), p.78 no.6658; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.429 no.1521; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.159 no.1521.

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M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.96 no.102, p.117 no.496; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW II.20.2* (1987), p.678 n.36.

The text is from the lower part of a broken stele, but appears to be complete. The name Philous could be masculine or feminine, but the adjectives show that this Philous was a woman, as was the Egyptian Jew who bore the name in *CPJ* 421 (A.D.73); the gender of the Jewish examples from Cyrenaica (*CJZC* 63c and f) is unclear. The form Philoution is found in no.80 above. As in no.87, there appears to be a superfluous L symbol, and the explanations considered there could also apply here: 'the 40th year' would probably belong to Augustus' reign.

Fragmentary stele, 25 x 26 cm. Letter forms: A € C Ω.

92 (CIJ ii no.1523): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): mid-2nd century B.C.– early 2nd century A.D. (27 B.C.?). Stele; epitaph.

Cairo Museum.

Text follows G. Lefebvre, *ASAE* 24 (1924), p.2.

Δελφύνιε | πασίφιλε | χρηστὲ | χαῖρε· | ὥς (ἐτῶν) μς´. || (ἔτους)
δ´ Θῶθ λ´.

Delphynios (?), friend of all, excellent one, farewell. About
46 years old. In the 4th year, Thoth 30.

G. Lefebvre, 'Inscriptions gréco-juives', *ASAE* 24 (1924), p.2, fig.1 (facsimile; from the stone); *SB* iii (1926), p.177 no.6985; *SEG* viii (1937), p.83 no.486; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.430-1 no.1523; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.160 no.1523.

M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.274 n.1; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW II.20.2* (1987), p.678 n.36.

This inscription, along with nos.93 and 94, was acquired for the Egyptian Antiquities Service at Shibin el-Qanatir, 2 km. north-west of Tell el-Yehoudieh. All three are in the form of a rectangular field beneath a pediment, and this, as well as the form of the epitaphs, left Lefebvre in no doubt that they came from Tell el-Yehoudieh. He thought they were all

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Augustan, which is perhaps the case for no.93 but must be somewhat questionable for this inscription, since it is not clear that they were originally found together: 49 B.C. and A.D.17, 39, 41 and 57 are among the other possible dates. He stated that the reading of the name was very doubtful, and Delphynios is not attested elsewhere (W. Pape, *Wörterbuch*, s.v., notes the use of the name Delphynes in poetry). F. Bilabel in *SB* suggested Ἀπόφνις as an alternative, but Lefèvre's facsimile would not allow the second letter to be read as *pi*.

Pediment-topped rectangular limestone stele, 71 x 27 cm. Letter forms: Α Ε C W. Numeral: ζ.

93 (CIJ ii no.1524): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): 52 or 1 B.C. Stele; epitaph.

Cairo Museum.

Text follows D.M. Lewis, *CPJ* iii no.1524, p.160 (based on Lefèvre's reading).

Δωσθίων | Σαββαταίου | ὀρφανὲ μὲν | κρὲ τραυμα|τία χαῖρε· || ὥς
ἐτῶν τριῶν. | (ἔτους) κθ' Παχῶν ιζ'.

Dosthion, son of Sabbataios, orphan, little one, wounded one, farewell. About three years old. In the 29th year, Pachon 16.

G. Lefèvre, 'Inscriptions gréco-juives', *ASAE* 24 (1924), p.3, fig.2 (facsimile; from the stone); *SB* iii (1926), p.178 no.6986; *SEG* viii (1937), p.83 no.487; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.431-2 no.1524; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.160 no.1524.

M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; G. Dellling, 'Biblisch-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten', *BSAC* 22 (1974-5), p.27; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.275; G.H.R. Horsley, *New documents* iv (1987), p.225; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 n.36.

On the attribution of this inscription to Tell el-Yehoudieh, see no.92. Dosthion is a variant of Dositheos (see no.71); similar forms occur in *CPJ* 313.2 (A.D.103) Δωσθίς, 409.2 (3 B.C.) Δυσθέων, and 428.I.4 (A.D.101/2) Δόσθων. Sabbataios (see no.58) was the commonest form of 'sabbath' name at Tell el-Yehoudieh. The names are clearly Jewish although the epithets are

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unusual. On *μεικρός*, cf. no.64. *ὀρφανός*, like the Latin *orbus*, can apply to those who have lost their children as well as to children who have lost their parents; it can also refer to someone who has lost a quasi-parent (Jn. xiv 18 referring to the disciples of Christ; Plato, *Phaedr.* 116a referring to Socrates' pupils), or to someone who is less specifically 'destitute'. If Dosthion was really an 'orphan', he must have been commemorated by other relatives or by the community – Judaism offered protection to orphans, but there is of course no way of knowing if this had any significance at Leontopolis. For full discussion of the term, see H. Seesemann, s.v., in *TDNT* v (1967), pp.487-8.

τραυματία (ll.4-5), a vocative form not found elsewhere, may indicate that Dosthion died in an accident as Lefebvre and *CIJ* suggested, but in literature *τραυματίας* generally applied to someone wounded or killed deliberately in fighting; this seems to be the invariable implication of the numerous uses of the word in the LXX. In Lucian, *Cat.* 6, *οἱ τραυματίαι* being taken to the Underworld by Hermes are men who have been murdered or executed. Forms of the verb *τραυματίζω* are used in a number of papyri in complaints about physical assaults: e.g. *P.Tebt.* i 39, i 230, iii 797; *BGU* viii 1780; *SB* vi 9150. The implication may be, therefore, that Dosthion was murdered.

The regnal year is probably 1 B.C., from Augustus' reign, but could be 52 B.C., from that of Ptolemy XII (Auletes).

Rectangular limestone stele, 63 x 19 cm., with recessed field and pediment, both with denticulated borders. Letter forms: Α ΕΕ Θ Γ Ω. Numeral: C.

94 (*CIJ* ii no.1525): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): mid-2nd century B.C.– early 2nd century A.D. (25 B.C.?). Stele; epitaph.

Cairo Museum.

Text follows G. Lefebvre, *ASAE* 24 (1924), pp.4-5.

Πυρείων | ἔωρε {ρος} | χρηστὲ | χαῖρε | ὡς (ἐτῶν) ις'. ||
(ἔτους) ε' Μεσορῆ | ια'.

Pyreion, untimely dead, excellent one, farewell. About 16 years old. In the 5th year, Mesore 11.

G. Lefebvre, 'Inscriptions gréco-juives', *ASAE* 24 (1924), pp.4-5, fig.3 (facsimile; from the stone); *SB* iii (1926), p.179 no.6987; *SEG* viii (1937), p.84 no.488; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.432 no.1525; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.160 no.1525.

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M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.274 n.1; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 n.36.

This inscription was acquired with nos.92 and 93, but not necessarily found with them. Lefebvre's opinion that the regnal year was that of Augustus is therefore questionable, and other dates cannot be excluded, e.g. 47 B.C. and A.D.19, 45 or 59.

The name Pyreion ('spark') does not seem to occur elsewhere, although Zopyrion was a common name. Lefebvre suggested that it was either a mistake or a variant of Πυρρίων, which he saw as corresponding to the Latin Rufus and Hebrew Yehouda (cf. C. Clermont-Ganneau, *RAO* v, p.337 n.2). The nearest equivalent in *CPJ* is Πύρρος (84.3) from Thebes, 157 B.C. In l.2 ρος appears to have been inscribed by mistake, presumably by a stone-cutter who was unsure whether to use nominative or vocative forms. There are no parallels in *SB* i-v for the spelling of Mesore used in l.6, and that too is probably a mistake.

Pediment-topped rectangular limestone stele, 50 x 23 cm., with recessed field and acroteria. Letter forms: Α Ε C Ω. Numeral: ͵.

95 (*CIJ* ii no.1526): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): 27 B.C. or 1st century A.D. Stele; epitaph.

Tell el-Yehoudieh (1925, built into a house).

Text follows C.C. Edgar, *ASAE* 26 (1926) no.1, p.102.

Σαββάτιον | χρηστὴ χαῖρε | ἄωρε | πασίφιλη· | ὥς ἐτῶν κβ'. ||
(ἔτους) δ' Θῶθ ιη' | ἐτελεύτησεν [.][....]ν[- -]

l.8 omitted by *CIJ*

Sabbation, excellent woman, farewell, untimely dead, friend of all. About 22 years old. She died in the 4th year, Thoth 18

C.C. Edgar, 'Two more tombstones from Tell el Yahoudieh', *ASAE* 26 (1926), p.102 no.1 (facsimile; from a squeeze); *SB* iii (1926), p.260 no.7254; *SEG* viii (1937), p.84 no.494; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.432 no.1526; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.160

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no.1526.

M.N. Tod, 'Laudatory epithets in Greek epitaphs', *ABSA* 46 (1951), p.188 n.24; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.274 n.1; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.95 no.66, p.100, p.109 no.229; G.H.R. Horsley, *New documents* iv (1987), p.226; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 n.36.

This stone and no.96 below were noticed in 1925, built into the doorway of a house in a hamlet near the Tell el-Yehoudieh site. Both were shaped to fit their new purpose, so their original form is unclear. The length of the lines is irregular, so it is difficult to say how many letters are lost at the end of l.8. Edgar thought the '4th year' was from the reign of an early emperor (not necessarily Augustus, so A.D.17, 39, 40 and 57 are possible). This feminine form of the 'sabbath' name is close to the commonest form of the Roman period, Sambathion (see no.58 and V.A. Tcherikover, *CPJ* iii, p.44).

The formula χρῆσθι χαῖρε (l.2) is in an unusual position, before rather than after the epithets. The verb τελευτάω (l.7), which is used in several other Tell el-Yehoudieh inscriptions (see Formulae Index), was usually followed by details of age or date, but those were given earlier, so the lost text from l.8 may have included something like *SB* i 1626, ἐτελεύτησεν εἰς ἀέμνηστον or 1209, ἐτελεύτησεν ὑπὸ σκοπίου (both from mummy-labels).

Remainder of stele or plaque, 20 x 20 cm. Guide-lines above and below each line of lettering. Letter forms: Α Ε C Ω.

96 (CIJ ii no.1527): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): 58/57 B.C. (?). Stele; epitaph.

Tell el-Yehoudieh (1925, built into a house).

Text follows C.C. Edgar, *ASAE* 26 (1926) no.2, pp.103-4 (apart from l.3 and l.5, where D. Lewis's interpretation in *CPJ* iii no.1527, p.160 is followed).

Ναρδίων χρῆσθι χαῖρε ὡς (ἐτῶν) δ'. (ἔτους) κγ' Παισίν[ι] ιγ'. |
 Τετεύτιον χρῆσθι χαῖρε ὡς (ἐτῶν) β'. (ἔτους) κγ' Ἐπιη λ'. |
 Σαββαταῖ χρῆσθι χαῖρε || ὡς (ἐτῶν) α'. (ἔτους) β' Χυὰκ ιε'.

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Παοῖν[ι] (1.2): 1. Παῦνι

Τετέουον (1.3): Edgar Τετέ(ρ)ιον; *SB* Γετέουον

Ἐπιη (1.4): 1. Ἐπειφ

Σαββαταῖ (1.5): Edgar, *SB*, *SEG*, *CIJ* Σαββαταῖ(ε)

Χουὰκ (1.6): 1. Χουὰκ

Nardion, excellent one, farewell. About 4 years old. In the 23rd year, Payni 13. Teteution, excellent girl, farewell. About 2 years old. In the 23rd year, Epeiph 30. Sabbatai, excellent one, farewell. About 1 year old. In the 2nd year, Choiak 15.

C.C. Edgar, 'Two more tombstones from Tell el Yahoudieh', *ASAE* 26 (1926), pp.103-4 no.2 (facsimile; from a squeeze); *SB* iii (1926), p.260 no.7255; *SEG* viii (1937), p.84 no.495; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.433-4 no.1527; *CPJ* iii (1964), pp.160-1 no.1527.

M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; S.M. Ruozzi Sala, *Lexicon nominum semiticorum* (1974), p.32; G. Delling, 'Biblisch-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten', *BSAC* 22 (1974-5), p.27; B. Boyaval, 'Dix notes d'onomastique', *ZPE* 31 (1978), pp.115-8; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.93 no.14, p.100, p.122 no.646; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 n.36.

This stone was reported with no.95 as being built into a house in a hamlet near Tell el-Yehoudieh. Three young children are commemorated together: two died in the '23rd year' and one in the '2nd year'. Edgar argued that, if the 23rd year was that of Augustus (7 B.C.), the 2nd year (of Tiberius, A.D.15) would be over 20 years later, making an improbably large age gap between siblings. He therefore suggested that the 23rd year was that of Tiberius, i.e. A.D.36/37, also the first year of Gaius. Although the children's deaths on 7th June and 24th July A.D.37 fell in the reign of Gaius (Tiberius died on 16th March), it would not be surprising if the old regnal year was still in use at Tell el-Yehoudieh. The death in the 2nd year would thus be on 11th Dec. A.D.38. D.W. Rathbone, 'The dates of the recognition in Egypt of the emperors from Caracalla to Diocletianus', *ZPE* 62 (1986), pp.102-3, suggests that news of a change of emperor usually took 20-25 days to reach Alexandria and 30 days (but occasionally up to 60) to reach Arsinoe and

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Oxyrhynchus; see also the discussion by R. Duncan-Jones, *Structure and scale in the Roman economy* (Cambridge, 1990), pp.8-12, who shows that dating by a new emperor started on average 62 days after his predecessor's death. This would make a lack of knowledge about the new reign at Tell el-Yehoudieh four months after Tiberius' death rather unlikely. Another possibility which avoids this difficulty, suggested by Dr D. Thompson, is that the '23rd year' is that of Ptolemy XII (Auletes), making the first date 16th June 58 B.C.; the second would then be 2nd Aug. 58 B.C., and the third 19th Dec. 57 B.C. (reign of Berenice IV). It is not certain either that children in the same family could not have an age difference of some 25 years (births in about 11 B.C. and A.D.14 might be possible for the same mother, but could also be explained as the result of the father's remarriage), or even that the children did belong to the same family, but the dating to 58 and 57 B.C. offers a plausible explanation. The spelling of the month Payni in 1.2 occurs in nine firmly dated inscriptions and ostraka in *SB* i-v, all from the 1st or 2nd century A.D., and one undated but attributed to the late Ptolemaic period. The spelling of Epeiph (1.4) occurs in a late Ptolemaic papyrus (*SB* iii 6319.49), and Choiak is found with the spelling Χοαχ in a papyrus of A.D.118 (*SB* v 7588.4).

The inscription shows clearly how Greek, Egyptian and Jewish names co-existed at Tell el-Yehoudieh. Nardion, although not attested elsewhere, is probably derived from the Greek νάρδος. The name written on the stone as Teteurion may be a mistake for Teteurion, which would be a regularly formed diminutive of the common Egyptian feminine name Τετρυρίς. *SB* printed it, apparently by mistake, as Τετρυριον, and it was included in that form in Foraboschi's *Onomasticon*. Boyaval argues that the form on the stone is correct, and is a diminutive derived from an unaspirated form of the name Τετρυς. Sabbatai is a form of the 'sabbath' name (see no.58), either directly transliterated from Hebrew, in which case it would be unique in Egypt, or with the final *epsilon* missing from the vocative of the usual form Sabbataios. The use of ὡς with all the children's ages can hardly indicate uncertainty; it must imply that their ages were some days or months more (or less) than the years given (see no.41, above). The ages give some support to the supposition that the three are siblings since, according to Edgar's dating or the Ptolemaic alternative, their births would be at approximately two-year intervals. There are parallels for epitaphs with three or more names (e.g. *SB* i 2043, 2478) but the only one from *SB* i to provide definite evidence about relationship (or the lack of it) is 3435, an early Ptolemaic inscription from Alexandria, where the names of four women with three

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different patronymics were written in three different hands. The present inscription appears to have been written wholly at one time.

Remainder of stele or plaque, 17 x 26 cm. Letter forms: Α Ε C Ω.

97 (CIJ ii no.1528): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh); necropolis: mid-2nd century B.C.– early 2nd century A.D. (22 B.C.?). Stele; epitaph.

Unknown.

Text follows D.M. Lewis, *CPJ* iii no.1528, p.161 (based on du Mesnil du Buisson's reading).

Παουτίωνα μικρὸν ἄωρον πα|σίφιλον κλαύσαι|ε· ὥς ἐτὼν
{(ἐτὼν)} | κη'. (ἔτους) θ' Φαῶφι ιθ'.

Παουτίωνα (l.1): du Mesnil du Buisson, *SEG* Π(λ)οντίωνα
ιθ' (l.5) follows du Mesnil du Buisson's facsimile, but in his
minuscule text he gave [κ]θ'

Weep for Paoution, the little one, untimely dead, friend of
all. About 28 years old. In the 9th year, Phaophi 19.

R. du Mesnil du Buisson, 'Compte rendu sommaire d'une mission à Tell el Yahoudiyé', *BIFAO* 29 (1929), pp.156-7 (facsimile; from the stone); *SB* iv (1931), p.101 no.7471; *SEG* viii (1937), p.84 no.491; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.434-5 no.1528; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.161 no.1528.

J. & L. Robert, *BE* (1948), p.209; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.274 n.1; U. Fischer, *Eschatologie und Jenseitserwartung* (1978), p.238; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.100; G.H.R. Horsley, *New documents* iv (1987), p.225; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 n.40.

This inscription was found in the eastern part of the necropolis during a brief excavation in 1929; du Mesnil du Buisson described it as an example of the texts he found, but published no others. The stele is of the commonest Tell el-Yehoudieh form, but slightly unusual in being almost square. The dating of the inscription was given as probably the end of the Ptolemaic era by *SB*, perhaps 22 B.C. by *CIJ*, and 1st century A.D. by *SEG*. There is no

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compelling reason to assign the regnal year to Augustus rather than, for example, Cleopatra VII (44 B.C.) or Tiberius (A.D.22).

The name Paoution was amended to Ploution by du Mesnil du Buisson, but this seems unnecessary; although Paoution is otherwise unattested, Paos or Paous was a very common Egyptian name (occurring in no.114, below; the variant Paout is also found), and Paoution would be a masculine diminutive formed in a perfectly regular way. On the epithet μικρός, see no.64, above; its use for adults is discussed by J. & L. Robert. κλαύσατε is written where the χρηστὲ χαῖτε formula is often placed, and the name and epithets are all given accusative endings. There is a superfluous L symbol in l.4 (cf. nos.87, 91), and in this case it is clearly a mistake, since it is in the wrong position to signify 'half', and the regnal year has its own L.

Pediment-topped rectangular limestone stele, 40 x 41 cm., with a recessed field between two columns, and acroteria. Letter forms: A/A € C Ω.

98 (Plate XXIV; *CIJ* ii no.1529): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): mid-2nd century B.C.— early 1st century A.D. (10 B.C.?). Stele; epitaph.

Cairo Museum.

Text follows D.M. Lewis, *CPJ* iii no.1529, p.161 (based on Aimé-Giron's reading).

Σαββαταί|ου τῶν ἀ|πὸ Τεβερκ|ύθεως ἄλν|πος ὥ(ς) ἐτ||ων μ'. |
(ἔτους) κ' Ἐπεῖφ ιε'.

ὥ(ς) (l.5): Aimé-Giron (minuscule text) and *SEG* ὥς, but Aimé-Giron's photograph does not show the *sigma*, although there is a space for it.

(Tomb of) Sabbataios, from Teberkythis, who caused pain to none. About 40 years old. In the 20th year, Epeiph 15.

N. Aimé-Giron, 'Stèle gréco-juive', *BIFAO* 30 (1931), pp.787-9 (photograph; from the stone); *SEG* viii (1937), p.84 no.490; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.435 no.1529; *SB* v (1955), p.192 no.8125; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.161 no.1529.

L. Robert, *Hellenica* i (1940), p.24; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; G. Dellling, 'Biblisch-jüdische Namen im

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hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten', *BSAC* 22 (1974-5), p.27 and n.2; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.274 n.1; A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (1985), p.130; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.100.

The inscription was donated by Dr Meyerhof to the Société d'Histoire Juive d'Égypte, and was published by Aimé-Giron as coming from Tell el-Yehoudieh, but without any details of when or how it was found. On the name Sabbataios, see no.58; the use of this form suggests a date from the reign of Augustus (10 B.C., as suggested by Aimé-Giron) or earlier (e.g. 61 B.C., from the reign of Ptolemy XII (Auletes); 32, from Cleopatra VII, was officially '20th & 5th'), but the reign of Tiberius (A.D.34) cannot be excluded and is implied by *SEG* and *SB*, which suggest 1st century A.D. Few Tell el-Yehoudieh epitaphs give the deceased's name in the genitive: cf. nos.46, 67. The definite article (plural) and adjective (nominative) were not made to agree with the name, although it is possible that τῶν should be understood as 'one of those from'. The place-name Teberkythis is not otherwise attested, and it was presumably a small village. This is the only prose inscription from Tell el-Yehoudieh to specify the deceased's original home, which suggests that the Leontopolis temple did not make the town into a major burial site for Jews from elsewhere in Egypt.

Pediment-topped rectangular limestone stele, 35 x 18 cm., with recessed field; traces of red paint in pediment and letters. Letter forms: Α Ε Μ Ξ Ω.

99 (CPJ iii no.1530b): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): mid-2nd century B.C.– early 2nd century A.D. (7 B.C.?). Stele; epitaph. Cairo Museum.

Text follows D.M. Lewis, *CPJ* iii no.1530b, p.162 (based on Leibovitch's reading); accentuation of the first name follows H. Heinen, *ZPE* 79 (1989), p.245.

(ἔτους) κγ' Φαρμου|θι λ'. ἐτελεύτη|σεν Κλευπᾶς γυ|νῇ Πειῶτος
λε|χοῦσα φιλητή· κλαύσατέ με πάν||τες· ἐγὼ γάρ | (ἐτῶν) κε'
ἐτελε|ύτησα.

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(ἔτους) κγ' (l.1): *SB* (ἔτους) κ

In the 23rd year, Pharmouthi 30, there died Kleopas, wife of Petos, in childbirth, the loved one. Weep for me, all men, for I died at 25 (?) years old.

J. Leibovitch, 'Stèles funéraires de Tell el-Yehudieh', *ASAE* 41 (1942), pp.41-2 no.1, fig.1, pl.III.I (photograph and facsimile; from the stone); *CPJ* iii (1964), p.162-3 no.1530b; *SB* viii (1967), p.16 no.9673a.

C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.274 n.1; U. Fischer, *Eschatologie und Jenseitserwartung* (1978), p.238; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.100, p.115 no.419; H. Heinen, 'Onomastisches zu Eiras, Kammerzofe Kleopatras VII', *ZPE* 79 (1989), p.245.

The stone is one of three (also. nos.100-1) given to the Cairo Museum by Rév. Père Bovier-Lapierre, who said they came from Tell el-Yehoudieh. Leibovitch assumed that this inscription and no.101 were Augustan since no.100 has an Augustan date, but as it is not clear that they were originally found together, this is questionable. The 23rd year could apply to other reigns, including Ptolemy XII (Auletes) (58 B.C.) and Tiberius (A.D.37). The date is given at the beginning rather than the end of the inscription, as in only five others from Tell el-Yehoudieh and Demerdash (nos.47, 58, 65, 71, 106).

The deceased woman's name is a variant spelling of Cleopas, a reasonably common name in Egypt which could be masculine or (e.g. *SB* i 4088) feminine. *CIJ* 698 from Thessaly refers to a woman named Κλεουπά. As a masculine name Cleopas occurs at Lk. xxiv 18 (one of the disciples, on the road to Emmaus), and Κλοπά as a genitive is found at Jn. xix 25 (Mary the wife of Clopas). Letronne, 'Sur les noms grecs de Cléophas et de Cléopas', *RevArch* 1 (1844), pp.485-91 showed it to be a syncopated form of Cleopatros. On the husband's name Petos, see no.111.

On the epithets, see no.106 (λεχοῦσα) and no.109 (φιλητή); on the verb τελευτάω, see no.130. The formula κλαύσατε πάντες occurs in one of the metrical inscriptions (no.34), as well as another prose epitaph (no.101). In prose, it seems to be an alternative to χρηστέ χαῖρε, as in no. 97. Both the reference to death in childbirth and the use of κλαύσατε are features which in Egypt are characteristic of Jewish inscriptions. The use of γυνή here (ll.3-4) leaves no doubt that it means 'wife' (unlike no.68). The other childbirth epitaphs (nos.85, 106) make no mention of the dead woman's husband, who

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was probably the commemorator in this case. Leibovitch was unsure whether the age (l.7) should be read as 20 or 25, suggesting that the *epsilon* might be 'un accident de la pierre'.

Stele, 50 x 28 cm., recessed field with a pattern of diagonal strokes above it, guide-lines. Letter forms: A E/E M C Ω.

100 (CPJ iii no.1530c): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): 26 B.C. (?). Stele; epitaph.

Cairo Museum.

Text follows J. Leibovitch, *ASAE* 41 (1942) no.2, p.43.

Μάρειν χρησ|τῇ μικρὰ | πασιφίλα | ὥς ἐτῶν | λε'. || (ἔτους) ε'
Καίσαρ(ος), | Τῷβι β'.

Marein, excellent woman, little one, friend of all. About 35 years old. In the 5th (?) year of Caesar, Tybi 2.

J. Leibovitch, 'Stèles funéraires de Tell el-Yehoudieh', *ASAE* 41 (1942), p.43 no.2, fig.2, pl.III.II (photograph and facsimile; from the stone); *CPJ* iii (1964), p.163 no.1530c; *SB* viii (1967), p.17 no.9673b.

J. & L. Robert, *BE* (1948), p.209; G. Delling, 'Biblisch-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten', *BSAC* 22 (1974-5), p.22; S.M. Ruozzi Sala, *Lexicon nominum semiticorum* (1974), p.26; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.274; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.96 no.98, p.100, p.106 no.109.

The name Marein is either a variant of Marion (cf.nos.74, 84, 103) or a feminine form (with final *alpha* missing) of the common name Mareinos, which is found in *CPJ* 432 col.IX.199 (Arsinoe, A.D.113). Μαρεῖνα and Μαρίνα are found in inscriptions from Rome (*CIJ* 257, 376). C.D. Buck, *The Greek dialects*, p.43, notes -ει- as an alternative spelling for -ι- or -ιο- (cf. no.80). On the use of μικρά (l.2), see no.64; Leibovitch, not realising that it could be used for adults, thought it cast doubt on the reading of the age. πασιφίλα (l.3) occurs only here among the Tell el-Yehoudieh inscriptions; elsewhere, if a specifically feminine form is used, it ends with *eta*. In l.7, it is possible that there was another letter before the *beta* of the month-date.

Stele, 49 x 21 cm., recessed field. Letter forms: A E E C Ω.

101 (CPJ iii no.1530d): Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): mid-2nd century B.C.– early 2nd century A.D. (14 B.C.?). Stele; epitaph.

Cairo Museum.

Text follows D.M. Lewis, *CPJ* iii no.1530d, p.163 (based on Leibovitch's reading), with additional indications of lost and doubtful letters from the photograph and facsimile of J. Leibovitch, *ASAE* 41 (1942) no.3, pp.44-6.

κλαύσετε με πάντες, | ἐμὴ μήτηρ καὶ μάμμη | χρηστῇ [...] καὶ
[.....]|ς Μάρανις [.....] | ἔτε[κνο]ς ἐγὼ γάρ [...]ρι[.] || [...]θις
τ[...]|ακις ἐτελεύ|τησ(α)· Ἀθὺρ α' ἔ(τους) ιζ'. | κλαύσετε με
πάντες.

[..]θις (l.6): *SB* [...]θιμ

ἐτελεύτησ(α)· Ἀθὺρ (ll.6-7) for ἐτελευτησαθὺρ on the stone

Weep for me, all men, my mother and excellent grandmother Maranis For I died childless (?)
Hathyr 1, in the 17th year (?). Weep for me, all men.

J. Leibovitch, 'Stèles funéraires de Tell el-Yehoudieh', *ASAE* 41 (1942), pp.44-6 no.3, fig.3, pl.IV.III (photograph and facsimile; from the stone); *CPJ* iii (1964), p.163 no.1530d; *SB* viii (1967), p.17 no.9673c.

U. Fischer, *Eschatologie und Jenseitserwartung* (1978), p.238.

On the origin and dating of the stone, see no.99. Little more than half the field was used. The lettering is badly preserved, and what can be read is difficult to interpret, but there are clear similarities to the vocabulary of no.99.

Maranis (l.4) could be the name of the deceased or of someone addressed along with the mother and grandmother. There might be another name after καὶ in l.3 – the common name Λιμναῖος would fit the parts of letters shown in the facsimile. The restoration of ἔτε[κνο]ς by Lewis (l.5) is not certain, since -ατε might end another imperative, as Leibovitch supposed. -ακις (l.6) could be the end of an adverb like τετράκις or τοσάκις, or of a patronymic or even of the deceased's name. On the analogy of no.99, the age of the deceased should

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be given in this line, and it is perhaps possible that -ακς is an attempt to give a number as a word. The deceased's name is more likely to have come after ἐγὼ γὰρ at the end of l.5 and beginning of l.6; numerous attested names would fit, e.g. Ἐπιφῆς, Κριός. In l.7, the final *alpha* of ἐτελεύτησα was apparently combined by haplography with the first letter of Ἀθὺρ, and ἔτους was abbreviated by *epsilon* instead of the usual *l* symbol; *iota* appears as a much longer stroke than is found in any of the other letters, and unlike *iota* elsewhere in the inscription. The reading of the whole line is therefore somewhat doubtful, since the year invariably comes before the month in Tell el-Yehoudieh inscriptions; the only possible exception is no.61, where the interpretation of the abbreviations is problematic.

μάμμη (l.2) is occasionally found in Egyptian epitaphs, e.g. *SB* i 392, viii 10057, and was not necessarily an affectionate term: it is found in a petition applying for relief from guardianship (*SB* v 7558) and in the edict of Germanicus (*SB* i 3924). The formula κλάσσετε πάντες (ll.1 and 8) also occurs (as κλάσσετε) in nos.34 (verse) and 99 (prose). The verb τελευτάω (l.6) is found in several other inscriptions (see *Formulae Index*), but neither they nor any of the non-Jewish epitaphs which use it help in the restoration of the rest of the line. Elaborate sentences using τελευτάω in epitaphs and mummy-labels generally give details of date (e.g. *SB* i 729, ἐτελεύτησαν οἱ δύο ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπαγομένων ἡμερῶν; 1626, ἐν γὰρ τῇ γενεθλίῳ ἡμέρᾳ ἐτελεύτησεν εἰς ἀίμνηστον) or occasionally age (v 8366) or cause of death (i 1209).

Stele, 42 x 35 cm., recessed field, guide-lines. Letter forms: Α Ε Ι Λ Λ Γ Ω.

102: Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh) (?): mid-2nd century B.C.– early 2nd century A.D. Stele; epitaph.

Unknown.

Text follows G. Wagner, *BIFAO* 72 (1972) no.9, p.150, apart from the interpretation of the last two letters.

Ἰσουάτι|ν μικρὸν ἄ|ωρον κ(λ)αύ|σατε· [*vacat*] | ὥς ἐτῶν δ||ύο·
(ἔτους) δ' Πα|ῶνι εκ'.

κ(λ)αύσατε (ll.3-4) for καυσατε on the stone
εκ' (l.7): Wagner εκ (for εξ)

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Weep for Isouatin, little one, untimely dead, aged about two. In the 4th year, Payni 25.

G. Wagner, 'Inscriptions grecques d'Égypte', *BIFAO* 72 (1972), pp.149-51 no.9 (facsimile; from the stone); J. & L. Robert, *BE* (1974), p.324 no.685.

This inscription and no.103 below were seen by Wagner at a dealer's in Cairo. He regarded them as coming from Tell el-Yehoudieh because of their form. It is also significant that *κλαύσατε* is particularly common in Egypt in Jewish inscriptions (see no.64, above). The name of the deceased is otherwise unknown. In view of the doubtful reading of *iota* at the end of l.1, Wagner also considered 'Ισοῦα τόν, but rejected it – the adjectives clearly require a masculine name. Diminutive forms ending in -tin or -tion were common in Egypt (see no.76, above), and Wagner believes that Isouatin is a form of Jesus. He read the last two letters as a misspelled form of *ξξ*, but no other Egyptian Jewish inscriptions write the number in a date as a whole word, and it is more probably the numeral 25 with the digits in reverse order.

Pediment-topped rectangular limestone stele with recessed field and acroteria. Letter forms: A € C Ω.

103: Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh) (?): mid-2nd century B.C.– early 2nd century A.D. Stele; epitaph.

Private collection in Holland.

Text follows G. Wagner, *BIFAO* 72 (1972) no.10, p.150.

Μάριν &|ωρε | ώς (ἐτῶν) β'· | (ἔτους) η' Παῦνι λ'.

Παῦνι λ' (l.4): Sijpesteijn Παῦνι α', corrected in *SEG*

Marion, untimely dead, aged about 2. In the 8th year, Payni 30.

G. Wagner, 'Inscriptions grecques d'Égypte', *BIFAO* 72 (1972), pp.149-51 no.10 (facsimile; from the stone); J. & L. Robert, *BE* (1974), p.324 no.685; P.J. Sijpesteijn, 'An unpublished grave monument from Egypt', *CE* 53 (1978), p.117 (from the stone); *SEG* xxviii (1978), p.406 no.1476; J. & L. Robert, *BE* (1979), pp.532-3 no.640.

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This inscription was seen at a dealer's in Cairo and published by Wagner, along with no.102. Sijpesteijn published it independently (as *I.Moen.* 4) after seeing it in a private collection from which he also published some papyri, and the duplication was pointed out in *SEG*. The form of the stele, as with no.102, made Wagner suggest that it came from Tell el-Yehoudieh; Sijpesteijn gave no opinion about origin. The Jewish name Marin, a form of Marion, is attested at Tell el-Yehoudieh (see Names Index). However, if the stele really is from Tell el-Yehoudieh, Sijpesteijn's belief (presumably based on letter-forms) that it is from the 3rd century A.D. is unlikely to be correct, since there is no reason to think that any other Tell el-Yehoudieh stelae are later than the 1st or early 2nd century A.D. A similar combination of letter-forms is found in no.40, above, which is precisely dated to A.D.8.

Pediment-topped rectangular limestone stele, 31 x 15 cm., with recessed field and acroteria. Letter forms: Α Ε Γ Λ.

104: Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh) (?): mid-2nd century B.C.— early 2nd century A.D. Stele; epitaph.

Archaeological Museum of the Collegio Tedesco, Vatican City.

Text follows L. Moretti, *RivAC* 50 (1974), p.213, with a new suggestion for l.2.

Τευφιλίων | Ἀβιτίων(ος) | ἄκαρ | χρηστὲ | πασίφιλε || χαῖρε |
ὥς (ἐτῶν) ε' | (ἔτους) γγ' | Θωθ κζ'.

Teuphilion son of Abition, untimely dead, excellent one, friend of all, farewell. About 5 years old. In the 23rd year, Thoth 27.

L. Moretti, 'Iscrizioni greco-giudaiche di Roma', *RivAC* 50 (1974), pp.213-5 (photograph; from the stone).

There can be no doubt of the Egyptian origin of the man commemorated here, since the date includes an Egyptian month name and the L symbol is used twice. Moretti notes that the form of the stele is unknown at Rome, but is absolutely typical of Tell el-Yehoudieh. The epithets are those most favoured at the site, and the use of ὥς with the age and the way in which the date is expressed are also both characteristic. In the absence of any certain information about the stone's history, it seems very likely that it

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came from Tell el-Yehoudieh to the Vatican City via the antiquities market. The alternative explanation, that it belonged to an Egyptian Jew who emigrated to Rome, is less probable, since (as Moretti notes) there is no other evidence of the Jewish community at Rome maintaining the epigraphic practices of other parts of the empire.

The name of the deceased, Teuphilion, is an Egyptian form of the theophoric name Theophilos, commonly borne by Jews. The second name must be a patronymic, and the stone-cutter apparently ran out of space for the genitive ending: the *nu* is at the right-hand edge of the field, and no word is allowed to take up more than one line. Abition is an otherwise unknown name which Moretti suggests may be formed with the semitic prefix 'Aβi. Another possibility is that it is an Egyptian version of a Latin name such as *Habitus* or *Avitus*. Perhaps it is closest to the Semitic *Abithi* (אביתִי), found as a Jewish name in Cowley, *Aram. Pap.* 81, ll.91,115; an ostrakon gives what appears to be the alternative spelling *Avithi* (אוייתִי) (Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, ii, p.243; Sachau, *Elephantine*, i, p.231); 'Aβήτιος, the name of one of the LXX translators (Letter of Aristeas 50), often found in ostraca of the 2nd century B.C. but attested as late as A.D.116 (Rokeah in *CPJ* iii, p.167) is probably the same name (Tcherikover, *Jews in Egypt*, p.187 & n.31), and *Abition* here seems likely to be another Greek form of it.

Pediment-topped rectangular limestone stele, 49.5 x 24 cm., with a recessed field between columns; pediment with acroteria, and cornice beneath it. Letter forms: Α Ε C Ω.

105: Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh): mid-2nd century B.C.– early 2nd century A.D. Dedication (?).

Unknown.

Text follows E. Bernand, *Hommages à J. Cousin*, p.107.

[- - -] | [- - την] προσε[υχήν - -] | [- - θε]ῶν ὑψίσ[τωι - -]

.... the proseuche (?) to God the Highest ...

E. Brugsch-Bey, 'On et Onion', *Recueil de Travaux* 8 (1886), p.6 (facsimile; following a note by A.H. Sayce); E. Bernand, 'Au Dieu très haut', *Hommages à J. Cousin* (1983), pp.107-111 (facsimile); *SEG* xxxiii (1983), pp.395-6 no.1326.

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S. de Ricci, 'Paleography', *JE* ix (1905), p.473; S. de Ricci, 'Lettre à Monsieur le secrétaire perpétuel', *CRAI* (1908), p.797; P. Trebilco, *Jewish communities in Asia Minor* (1991), p.133 & n.27.

This fragmentary text was originally published by Brugsch-Bey, but was largely overlooked until brought to light again by E. Bernard. The stone was said to be in the collection of Dr James Grant, but did not pass to the Marischal Museum at the University of Aberdeen with the rest of the collection. It was found before Naville's investigation of the site of Tell el-Yehoudieh in 1887. The restoration of proseuche is extremely uncertain, although it is found with ὕψιστος in 9 and 27, above, and even if correct might be in the sense of 'prayer' rather than 'place of prayer', since it would not be a natural word to designate the Leontopolis temple – although the temple may have been complemented by other meeting-houses, as at Jerusalem. F.Ll. Griffith, 'The antiquities of Tell el-Yahoudieh' pp.51-3, mentions the remains of a brick-built building with limestone floors and columns, which he described as 'forming probably a Jewish synagogue, if not a temple, and citadel, which commanded the whole extent of the town'. Since he thought that the building was Roman, he rejected the idea that it was Onias' temple, but left open the possibility that it had a religious function. However, he seems to have had no grounds for this view apart from the position and imposing character of the building, and there is in any case nothing to connect it with this inscription.

Ὑψίστωι seems an inevitable restoration, and in the context it would undoubtedly refer to the Jewish god. According to the facsimile reproduced by Brugsch-Bey, the lettering is of a more 'formal' character than that used in the epitaphs from Tell el-Yehoudieh.

Letter forms: Σ Λ.

106 (CIJ ii no.1481): Demerdash, near Heliopolis: 1st century B.C. or A.D. (47 B.C.?). Stele; epitaph.

Cairo Museum.

Text follows D.M. Lewis, *CPJ* iii no.1481, p.150 (based on Edgar's reading).

ἔτους Ϛ' [ΑΘ]|ὕρ ια'. Ἀ[.]|θις Σαββ[α]|ταίου ἄω|ρος λοχῶ
 χρηστῇ χαῖ||ρε· ὡς ἐτῶν λε'. ΗΒ

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λοχῶ (1.5): Edgar and *SB* λῶχῶ, *CIJ* λῶχῶ(ι)

IB (1.6): Edgar and *CIJ* omit letters in minuscule texts, *SB* (δραγμαί) β

In the 6th year, Hathyr 11. A...this daughter of Sabbataios,
untimely dead, in childbirth, excellent woman, farewell.
About 35 years old ...

C.C. Edgar, 'A group of inscriptions from Demerdash', *BSAA* 15 (1914-15), p.33 (facsimile; from the stone); *SB* iii (1926), p.35 no.6227; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.398-9 no.1481; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.150 no.1481.

L. Robert, *Hellenica* i (1940), p.23 n.8; G. Zuntz, Review of *CPJ* iii, *JSS* 10 (1965), p.291; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; S.M. Ruozzi Sala, *Lexicon nominum semiticorum* (1974), p.33; G. Dellling, 'Biblisch-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten', *BSAC* 22 (1974-5), p.27 and n.2; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.274 n.1; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.96 no.97, p.100; G.H.R. Horsley, *New documents* iv (1987), p.224; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 n.36.

Demerdash is close to Heliopolis, and was probably the site of an ancient suburb of the city (Edgar, p.33). Only one of the group of inscriptions found there which Edgar reported (no.112) is in the form with a pediment favoured at Tell el-Yehoudieh, and although the group is clearly Jewish, the statement in *CIJ* that it 'undoubtedly' originates from Tell el-Yehoudieh seems rather strong; Demerdash is over ten miles to the south. Robert thought that the inscriptions might belong to Onias' settlement or to a small neighbouring Jewish colony, and said that they were found 'pas en place', following Edgar's note in a later article (*ASAE* 22 (1922), p.7 n.1). A. Barucq, ('Léontopolis' col.364, in *Supplément au dictionnaire de la Bible* v), suggested the existence of a number of Jewish settlements in the area north of Cairo; cf. A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic Egypt* pp.121-2, on a possible Jewish village near Heliopolis. See Introduction for evidence of Jewish connections with Heliopolis.

Date: Edgar (p.32) dated the lettering of the whole group of inscriptions (nos.106-114) to the first century B.C. or A.D.; he attributed no.113 to the reign of Cleopatra VII because of the 'double dating', and thought the others

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likely to come from roughly the same time; Hathyr in the 6th year of Cleopatra VII would date the inscription to 47 B.C., while the reigns of Ptolemy XII Auletes (76 B.C.) or Augustus (25 B.C.) are among the other possibilities.

The right edge of the inscription is broken, according to Edgar's facsimile, and letters are lost from the first three lines. There are numerous masculine names which would fit the partially lost name in ll.2-3, e.g. Ἀγαθός (which was suggested by F. Bilabel in *SB*, apparently without realising that it is only known as masculine) or Ἀλοῦθις, but no suitable feminine name seems to be attested. On the name Sabbataios, see no.58 above. Lewis offers the alternative translations 'daughter of' or 'wife of Sabbataios, but there seems no reason to suppose that there is any deviation here from the standard Egyptian practice of putting the father's name in the genitive after the name of the deceased.

The woman is one of the oldest Egyptian Jews to be described as ἄνθρωπος (ll.4-5); see no.41 above. λοχῶ (l.5; the accentuation follows Zuntz) was shown by Robert to be a nominative form, an alternative to λεχῶ and λόχους (as in no.85, above); no.99 uses λεχοῦσα. No.33 records in verse a death in childbirth. There are no other examples of the use of the terminology in *SB*, and it seems that Jews were the only people in Egypt who cared to record childbirth as the cause of death. M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca* iii, p.172, notes inscriptions recording death from that cause at Sparta. B. Boyaval, 'Surmortalité et fécondité féminines dans l'Égypte gréco-romain', *ZPE* 28 (1978), pp.193-200, discusses the over-representation of women of childbearing age in Egyptian epigraphy.

At the end of the text, there is either a ligature of the letters H B or a symbol of some other sort. If it is a ligature, it might be an abbreviation for ἡβίωσεν, since EB is often found as an abbreviation for ἡβίωσεν (we owe this suggestion to Miss J.M. Reynolds). Bilabel interpreted the left-hand part as the drachma symbol, so that the whole abbreviation would mean 'two drachmai'. It is possible (as suggested by Dr D. Thompson) that an illiterate stone-cutter copied out the whole text he was given, including the amount he was paid. No explanation is wholly satisfactory, and Lewis describes the abbreviation as 'mysterious'.

Rectangular limestone stèle, right-hand side broken, recessed field. Letter forms: Α Ε Ε Ω. Numeral: Γ.

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107 (CIJ ii no.1482): Demerdash, near Heliopolis: 1st century B.C. or A.D. Stele; epitaph.

Cairo Museum.

Text follows D.M. Lewis, *CPJ* iii no.1482, p.151 (based on Edgar's reading).

Ε(Ι)σάκις Ἰακώβω ἄωρε | χρηστ[ὲ] χαῖρ[ε] | [- -]

Ε(Ι)σάκις for Εισακις on the stone

Ἰακώβω (Il.1-2): *SB* Ἰακωβ, *CIJ* Ἰακωβ(?)

Isaac, son of Jacob, untimely dead, excellent one, farewell

....

C.C. Edgar, 'A group of inscriptions from Demerdash' *BSAA* 15 (1914-15), p.34 (facsimile; from the stone); *SB* iii (1926), p.35 no.6228; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.399 no.1482 (photograph); *CPJ* iii (1964), p.150 no.1482.

L. Robert, *Hellenica* i (1940), p.23; B.S.J. Isserlin, 'The names of the 72 translators of the Septuagint', *JANESCU* 5 (1973), p.193, p.196 n.25; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; S.M. Ruozzi Sala, *Lexicon nominum semiticorum* (1974), pp.13, 18; G. Delling, 'Biblisch-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten', *BSAC* 22 (1974-5), p.15; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.274 n.1; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 n.36.

On the dating, see no.106, above. The spelling of what seems to be the name Isaac is unusual, but there is a similar version in no.19, above, Εισάκ. That spelling also occurs in *P.Russ.Georg.* III 9 (4th century A.D.). *CPJ* 469.16 (3rd century A.D.) has an Εισάκ, and *CIJ* 1031 from Beth She'arim an Εισακος; Εισάκιος occurs several times at the same site (*CIJ* 995, 996, 998, 1033, 1052). The *tau* which was inscribed as the second letter appears to be an error, since no names beginning Ετσ- are attested in Egypt. The name appears as Ἰσακος and Ἰσαχος in the Letter of Aristeas (48, 49). On Ἰακώβω, see no.56 above, although the reading is by no means certain, and other names beginning with Ια- may be possible, e.g. Ἰάζαρω from Ἰάζαρος. The final *omega* could be a mistake, but many Jewish inscriptions from Cyrenaica have *omega* as a genitive ending in a patronymic.

Rectangular limestone stele, recessed field, column with capital on each side

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of field, inverted pediment. Letter forms: A E C Ω.

108 (CIJ ii no.1483): Demerdash, near Heliopolis: 1st century B.C. or A.D. (44 B.C.?). Stele; epitaph.

Cairo Museum.

Text follows D.M. Lewis, *CPJ* iii no.1483, p.151 (based on Edgar's reading).

[Σαβ]βαταῖς | [Ἐ]κδήμων | πασίφιλος | χρηστὴ χ(α)ῖ(ρε)· | ὥς
(ἐτ)ὼν ξ'. || (ἔτους) η' Πανι ιδ'.

[Σαβ]βαταῖς (l.1): *SB* [Σα]βαταῖς, *CIJ* [Σαβ]βαταῖς

(ἐτ)ὼν (l.5) for τῶν on the stone

Πανι (l.6): l. Παῦνι

Sabbataïs son (?) of Ekdemos, friend of all, excellent one, farewell. About 60 years old. In the 8th year, Payni 14.

C.C. Edgar, 'A group of inscriptions from Demerdash' *BSAA* 15 (1914-15), p.34 (facsimile; from the stone); *SB* iii (1926), p.35 no.6229; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.399-400 no.1483 (photograph); *CPJ* iii (1964), p.151 no.1483.

L. Robert, *Hellenica* i (1940), p.23; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; S.M. Ruozzi Sala, *Lexicon nominum semiticorum* (1974), p.33; G. Dellings, 'Biblisch-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten', *BSAC* 22 (1974-5), p.27 n.2; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.274 n.1; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.100; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 n.36.

On the dating, see no.106, above; 73 and 22 B.C. are the likeliest alternatives to the reign of Cleopatra VII. The *CIJ* photograph shows the top left corner of the stone broken off, so that some of l.1 and the beginning of l.2 are lost. The deceased bore a 'sabbath' name (assuming that the restoration of the first three letters is correct); see no.58, above. Variations of the name were suggested by Edgar and by Preisigke in *SB* as the restoration; the spelling given here is from Lewis. It is probably a transliteration of the biblical Hebrew form שַׁבַּת, with a final *sigma* added, but could be a variant of the attested feminine name Sabbathis (on which

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see V.A. Tcherikover, *CPJ* iii, p.44). Σαβατάς is found as a masculine name in 3rd century B.C. papyri from the Arsinoite nome (*CPR* xiii 10.7, 30.2). The restoration of the patronymic gives a name, Ekdemos, which is otherwise unattested in Egypt, but no attested name would fit. Ekdemos was the name of a tutor of Philopoemen of Megalopolis (Plutarch, *Phil.* 1; Polybius x 22). The stone-cutter's (or original writer's) difficulties with the Greek led to one adjective being put in the nominative and one in the vocative; it is therefore quite conceivable that a masculine form was used where feminine was intended. χαῖρε had to be given an unusual abbreviation to make it fit the line; each line-ending is also a word-ending.

Rectangular limestone stele, recessed field. Letter forms: Α Ε Γ Χ Ω.

109 (CIJ ii no.1484): Demerdash, near Heliopolis: 1st century B.C. or A.D. (43 B.C.). Stele; epitaph.

Cairo Museum.

Text follows F. Preisigke, *SB* iii no.6230, p.35 (based on Edgar's reading).

Σεβεθῶς Ψον|σνεῦτος ἄωρε | χρηστὲ φίλε | χαῖρε· ὡς ἐτῶν |
 τεσσεράκοντα || πέντε. γῆς ἐλα|φρῶς τύχοις. | <(ἔτους)> ι' Χοίαχ
 ιθ'.

<(ἔτους)> ι' (1.8) for T on the stone

Sebethois son of Psonsneus, untimely dead, excellent one, dear one, farewell. About forty-five years old. May you find the earth light. In the 10th year, Choiak 19.

C.C. Edgar, 'A group of inscriptions from Demerdash' *BSAA* 15 (1914-15), p.35 (facsimile; from the stone); *SB* iii (1926), p.35 no.6230; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.400 no.1484; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.151 no.1484.

V.A. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic civilization and the Jews* (1959), p.346 n.7; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; S.M. Ruozzi Sala, *Lexicon nominum semiticorum* (1974), p.38; G. Dellling, 'Biblisch-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten', *BSAC* 22 (1974-5), p.27; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.274 n.1; U.

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Fischer, *Eschatologie und Jenseitserwartung* (1978), p.238; M. Hengel, *Jews, Greeks and barbarians* (1980), p.101 n.55; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW II.20.2* (1987), p.678 nn.36, 42.

On the dating, see no.106 above; 72 and 21 B.C. are the likeliest alternatives to the reign of Cleopatra VII. The name Sebethois is yet another of the 'sabbath' names much loved by the Demerdash community; this form also occurs at Tell el-Yehoudieh in no.63, above. Psonsneus is well attested among Egyptians, although not Jews; Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, has six examples. It was a crocodile theophoric name from the northern Fayum.

A number of Egyptian epitaphs refer to either the dead person or the bereaved as φίλος, but this seems to be the only example of using the word as part of a string of epithets, although such usage was common elsewhere in the Greek-speaking world (M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca* iii, p.151); cf. φιλητή in no.99, above. C. Spicq, 'Le lexique de l'amour', p.32, notes the use of φιλεῖν and its derivatives in the vocabulary of conjugal love, but there is no evidence about whether φίλος has any such significance here. Its application to parents and children is noted by C. Spicq, *Notes de lexicographie Néo-Testamentaire* i (Fribourg, 1978), p.938. It is likely that φίλος here is replacing πασίφιλος (see no.41).

The formula at the end, γῆς ἐλαφρᾶς τύχοις, is paralleled in no.39 (γαῖαν ἔχοις ἐλαφρᾶν...) and was apparently intended in no.113. It also occurs in two non-Jewish inscriptions, *SB* i 315, ἐλαφρά σοι γῆ γένοιτο, and x 10721, γῆς ἐλαφρᾶς τύχοι. A poem in the Greek Anthology (vii 470), an epitaph in the form of a dialogue between a deceased man and a passer-by, uses a similar formula, λάβοι νύ σε βῶλος ἐλαφρῇ. R. Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin epitaphs*, pp.65-8, commented on the variety of ways in which the idea is expressed in Greek, and traced its literary origin to Euripides, *Alc.* 463-4: κούφα σοι χθὼν ἐπάνωθε πέσοι, γύναι. The sentiment, which was never reduced to one standard formula in Greek, seems to be the same as in the very common Latin expression 'sit tibi terra levis'; cf. Lattimore, p.74.

Rectangular limestone stele, recessed field. Letter forms: Α Ε Ε Γ Γ + Ω.

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110 (CIJ ii no.1485): Demerdash, near Heliopolis: 1st century B.C. or A.D. Stele; epitaph.

Cairo Museum.

Text follows F. Preisigke, *SB* iii no.6231, p.35 (based on Edgar's reading), with additional indications of doubtful letters from the facsimile of C.C. Edgar, *BSAA* 15 (1914-15), p.36.

Ἰώσηφος | [Φ]ομοῦνι(ος) | ἔωρε ἄτεκ|νε χρηστὲ χα|ίρε· ὥς ἐτῶν
|| εἴκο[σ]σι τρῖς. | (ἔτους) ι[....]ι κβ'.

εἴκο[σ]σι τρῖς (l.6): Edgar εἴκο[.]σι τρεῖς; l. εἴκοσι τρεῖς

Joseph, son of Phomounis, untimely dead, childless, excellent one, farewell. About twenty-three years old. In the ..th year, 22.

C.C. Edgar, 'A group of inscriptions from Demerdash' *BSAA* 15 (1914-15), p.36 (facsimile; from the stone); *SB* iii (1926), p.35 no.6231; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.400 no.1485; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.151 no.1485.

M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; S.M. Ruozzi Sala, *Lexicon nominum semiticorum* (1974), p.23; G. Delling, 'Biblisch-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten', *BSAC* 22 (1974-5), p.16 n.3, p.27; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.274 n.1; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.100; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 nn.36, 39.

On the dating, see no.106. See Names Index for alternative spellings of the name. The restoration of the father's name as Φομοῦνις was made by Preisigke in *SB*, but the name is not otherwise attested. Φομοῦνις and Πομοῦνις ('he of Amon') were common, and the reading of the first *omicron* here is not certain. If *iota* (l.7) is the last letter of the month, it must be Tybi or Payni; there is not room for Pharmouthi (*contra CIJ*).

Rectangular limestone stele with lower part missing, recessed field. Letter forms: Α Ε C Ω.

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111 (CIJ ii no.1486): Demerdash, near Heliopolis: 1st century B.C. or A.D. (39 B.C.?). Stele; epitaph.

Cairo Museum.

Text follows D.M. Lewis, *CPJ* iii no.1486, p.151 (based on Edgar's reading).

Λαβόις Πε|τῶτος | χρηστὲ | ὥρε χα|ίρε· ὡς (ἐτῶν) || λζ'·
(ἔτους) ιγ' Φα|μενώτ κα'·

Laboïs son of Petos, excellent one, untimely dead, farewell.
About 37 years old. In the 13th year, Phamenoth 21.

C.C. Edgar, 'A group of inscriptions from Demerdash' *BSAA* 15 (1914-15), p.36 (facsimile; from the stone); *SB* iii (1926), p.35 no.6232; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.401 no.1486; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.151 no.1486.

J. Leibovitch, 'Stèles funéraires de Tell el-Yehudieh', *ASAE* 41 (1942), p.42; V.A. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic civilization and the Jews* (1959), p.346 n.7; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.274 n.1; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.100; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 n.36.

On the dating, see no.106; 68 and 17 B.C. are alternatives to the reign of Cleopatra VII. The names are both common Egyptian ones, but Petos was also borne by several other Jews: no.99, above, and *CPJ* 417.4,24 and 515.2,5. This provides some support for the interpretation of the inscription as Jewish, which otherwise depends on the clearly Jewish nature of the other stelae found at the same time. Parallels for the unusual spelling of the month occur in *SB* i 245 and 4538 (proskynemata).

Rectangular limestone stele, recessed field. Edgar's facsimile shows a guideline beneath the last line. Letter forms: Α Ε C/C Ω.

112 (CIJ ii no.1487): Demerdash, near Heliopolis: 1st century B.C. or A.D. (38 B.C.?). Stele; epitaph.

Cairo Museum.

Text follows F. Preisigke, *SB* iii no.6233, p.35 (based on Edgar's reading).

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[- - -] | [- - χρ|ησ]ϣ̣ [χ]α̣ρ|ε̣ ὥς (ἐτῶν) λ[.]'. | (ἔτους) ιδ'
Φαρ(μοῦθι) κα'.

CPJ gives an additional [- - -] line at the beginning
(ἐτῶν) λ'[.] (l.4): Edgar (ἐτῶν) λε' or με'

.... excellent one, farewell. About 30(+) years old. In the
14th year, Pharmouthi 21.

C.C. Edgar, 'A group of inscriptions from Demerdash' *BSAA* 15 (1914-15), p.37 (facsimile; from the stone); *SB* iii (1926), p.35 no.6233; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.400-1 no.1487 (photograph); *CPJ* iii (1964), p.151 no.1487.

M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), pp.274 n.1, 275; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 n.36.

Edgar's facsimile and the *CIJ* photograph suggest that only two lines have been lost completely, although Lewis in *CPJ* gives an additional one. The length of the lines varies from 6 to 8 letters, and it is likely that both the deceased's name and a patronymic or another epithet have been lost. On dating, see no.106; 67 and 16 B.C. are alternatives to the reign of Cleopatra VII. There is no certainty that the inscription is Jewish, but it was discovered among Jewish inscriptions, and it has the carved pediment at the top which was common at Tell el-Yehoudieh, although in this case it is without acroteria.

Pediment-topped rectangular limestone stele with recessed field. Letter forms: Α Ε Γ Ω.

113 (*CIJ* ii no.1488): Demerdash, near Heliopolis: 34 or 33 B.C. Stele; epitaph.

Cairo Museum.

Text follows C.C. Edgar, *BSAA* 15 (1914-15), p.37.

[- - -] | [- - φιλά]δελε φιλ[ότε]κνε πασίφιλε | χρηστή
χα̣[ρ]ε̣' || ἐλαφρῶς τύχει[ς] | ΜΑΤΑ̣ ὥς ἐτῶν τ(ε|σς)εράκοντα

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πέντε. | (ἔτους) ιθ' τοῦ καὶ γ', Παχών ε'.

ἐλαφρᾶς τύχοις (l.6): *CPJ* restores χαῖ[ρε: γῆς] at end of l.5
τ(εσσ)εράκοντα (ll.7-8) for τσεερακοντα on the stone

.... who loved your brothers and your children, friend of all,
excellent woman, farewell. May you find (the earth) light on
you About forty-five years old. In the 19th year, which is
also the 3rd, Pachon 5.

C.C. Edgar, 'A group of inscriptions from Demerdash' *BSAA* 15 (1914-15),
p.37 (facsimile; from the stone); *SB* iii (1926), p.35 no.6234; *CIJ* ii (1952),
p.402 no.1488; *CPJ* iii (1964), pp.151-2 no.1488.

M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; U.
Fischer, *Eschatologie und Jenseitserwartung* (1978), p.238; M. Hengel, *Jews,
Greeks and barbarians* (1980), p.101 n.55; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in
der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.96 no.108, p.100; L.H. Kant,
'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.678 n.36.

Two lines have been lost at the top of the inscription. The first surviving
lines contain 10-11 letters, but as the size of the letters decreases towards
the foot of the inscription, the lost lines may have contained fewer. 'Double
dating' such as is found here is normally attributed in Egypt to the reign of
Cleopatra VII and her joint rule with Caesarion (see A.E. Samuel, *Ptolemaic
chronology* (Munich, 1962), pp.158-9). However, elsewhere the 18th year is
equated with the 3rd (*P.Ryl.* ii 69,6) and the 19th with the 4th (*OGIS* 195);
Edgar also published an inscription from the '20th and 5th' year (*ASAE* 15
(1915), pp.108-9). It seems therefore that one of the numerals here is wrong.

φιλάδελφος (ll.2-3) is used otherwise by Egyptian Jews only in nos.86 and
114; E. Bernand (*IM*, p.281) is wrong to call it a frequent Tell el-Yehoudieh
epithet. It is found in prose epitaphs of Jews at Rome, however: *CIJ* 125,
321, 363, which all use it in conjunction with other φιλ- epithets, as non-
Jewish Egyptians sometimes did (*SB* i 343, 2007, 5025). The adjective, or the
noun φιλαδελφία, is also used by Philo (e.g. *Jos.* 219, *Mos.* ii 30), Josephus
(e.g. *Ant.* ii 161, iv 26) and in II Macc. (xv 14) and IV Macc. (e.g. xiii 21, 23,
26); see comment on no.114, l.7, below. The use of πασιφίλος here (l.4) lends
some support to the belief that the inscription is Jewish (see no.41, above),
which otherwise depends on its being found with clearly Jewish inscriptions.

The stone-cutter should have written γῆς ἐλαφρᾶς τύχοις (l.6), but γῆς (or

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γαίας) is not there, and there is no room to restore it at the end of 1.5, as Lewis does in *CPJ*. The otherwise inexplicable MATA in 1.6 may represent an unsuccessful attempt at γαίας, as suggested in *SB* and *CIJ*; Lewis' objection that this would produce an extraordinary word order is hardly valid in view of the other mistakes. On the formula, see no.109, above.

Rectangular limestone stele, recessed field. Letter forms: Α Ε Γ Λ.

114 (Plate XXV; *CIJ* ii no.1489): Demerdash, near Heliopolis: 1st century B.C. or A.D. (49 B.C.?). Stele; epitaph; metrical. Alexandria Museum.

Text follows E. Bernand, *IM* no.69, p.278.

[- - - - -]	
[- - - - -] ΑΣ ἐν ὀρφαν[ί]ῃ	
[- - - - -] Α[.]ΜΕ[...]ΕΝ[- - -]	
[- - -] Α[- -] ΩΣ τοῦμὸν ἄχος φέρε(?) [- -]	
μνησθεὶς τῆς Α[- - - - -]	5
μὴ παρίδης [- - - -] ΟΝ ὁμοφροσύνης,	
ὡς κἀγὼ φιλάδελφος ἐὼν καὶ πᾶσι πολεΐταις	
χρηστὸς ἐκοιμήθην πλησίον ἀλλογενῶν	
εἰμὶ Θέων ὁ Παοῦτος, [δς] ἐν [βουλ]αῖσιν ἄριστος	
ἐνθάδε μνημῆφ κεῖμαι ἀποφθίμενος.	10
(ἔτους) δ' Φαῶφι ιη'.	

ll.1-3 were not transcribed by Edgar, followed in *CIJ*.

ll.2-6: *CPJ*, following Peek in the main, but with an expression of doubt: [- υ υ - υ υ -] πάντας ἐν ὀρφανίῃ

[-]ον ἀδελφὸν ἐ[μ]οῖ πε[φ]ιλημένον ἐν βιότη[τι]

[- υ υ - υ υ]ως - τοῦμὸν ἄχος φέρε πᾶς.

μνησθεὶς τῆς φιλίης, ἣν εἰς συνόμαι[μ]ο[ν] ἔδειξα

μὴ παρίδης [- (or υ υ) - - υ]ν ὁμοφροσύνης

ἀλλογενῶν (1.8): αἰμογενῶν Peek, followed here in *CPJ*.

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.... in bereavement bear my grief Remembering the
.... do not overlook the of unanimity, as I too, who loved
my brothers and was a friend to all the citizens, fell asleep
near strangers [or (following Peek's reading in l.8) near my
blood-relatives]. I am Theon, son of Paos, who, best in
counsel, lie here dead in the tomb. Year 4, Phaophi 18.

C.C. Edgar, 'A group of inscriptions from Demerdash' *BSAA* 15 (1914-15), p.38 (facsimile; from the stone); *SB* iii (1926), p.35 no.6235; W. Peek, 'Griechische Epigramme aus Aegypten', *BSAA* 27 (1932), pp.57-8, no.3 (from the stone); *SEG* viii (1937), pp.60-1 no.374; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.403 no.1489; W. Peek, *GV* (1955), pp.325-6 no.1143 (from the stone and a squeeze); *SB* v (1955), p.121 no.7804; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.152 no.1489; E. Bernand, *IM* (1969), pp.277-81 no.69, pl.xxi (photograph; from the stone).

C.C. Edgar, 'More tomb-stones from Tell-el-Yahoudieh', *ASAE* 22 (1922), p.7 n.1; L. Robert, *Hellenica* i (1940), p.24; P.M. Fraser, 'Greek inscriptions 1952-3', *JEA* 40 (1954), p.124 (4), (note); A. Cerasa-Gastaldo, 'ΑΓΑΠΗ nei documenti estranei all'influsso Biblico', *RFIC* 31 (1953), pp.347-8; C. Spicq, 'Le lexique de l'amour dans les papyrus', *Mnemosyne* 8 (1955), p.32; *SEG* xiv (1957), no.852; V.A. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic civilization and the Jews* (1959), p.346 n.7; G. Zuntz, Review of *CPJ* iii, *JSS* 10 (1965), p.291; W. Swinnen, 'Problèmes d'anthroponymie ptolémaïque', *CE* 42 (1967), p.171 n.1; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.680 n.57.

The concluding lines of an elegiac epitaph survive in a sunk field on a stele broken at the top; the surface of the upper part of the field is damaged. Four features together suggest that the inscription is Jewish. (i) It was found (in 1911) at Demerdash (see Introduction) with some definitely Jewish inscriptions; all were regarded by Edgar as forming a homogeneous group. (ii) The Egyptian name Paous (l.9) and its diminutive Paoution are found in Jewish use elsewhere (*CPJ* 46.6 and no.97, above, respectively). (iii) The plainness of the surviving lower part of the stele (but note the lack of the top) would be in keeping with the appearance of other Jewish monuments, especially from Tell el-Yehoudieh (see no.23, above). (iv) The description of the deceased in ll.7-9 recalls the language of no.30, ll.4-6 (Demas) and no.39, ll.4-8 (Abramos), above. These indications are not conclusive, but together they make it likely that the epitaph is Jewish.

Date: the Augustan dating found in some of the literature arises from

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the inclusion of the Demerdash stones among those from Tell el-Yehoudieh in *CIJ* (see no.106); in fact they are best considered separately. The reign here may, but need not, be that of Cleopatra VII; the lettering has been said to suit the period from the first century B.C. to the first century A.D. (Edgar), or the second century A.D. (Kiessling in *SB* v, no.7804, and others cited by Bernand, p.278, n.1); cf. no.106, above.

2 ΑΣ: Peek restored πάντας, but Bernand suggests that, although there can be no certainty, [παῖδ]ας would be better supported by the common phraseology of epitaphs (e.g. λέλοιπα ... παῖδας ἐν ὀρφανίῃ, Peek, *GV* 1870.11-12, from Philomelion).

6 ὁμοφροσύνη: both a family and a civic virtue, exhibited by Moses's parents and fostered by the Pentateuchal laws, according to Philo, *V.Mos.* i 7, *Virt.* 119, respectively.

7 φιλάδελφος: also at no.113 (see comment); here possibly not with special reference to a brother, but 'lover of the brethren', i.e. the Israelite community, as in II Macc. xv 14, of Jeremiah; the adjective would in that case be amplified and explained by the phrase following. πολῖταις, 'citizens' (εἰ for ι in accord with their use as equivalent from the 2nd century B.C. (see notes on no.34, above)), cf. no.30, l.6, above, πόλιν, 'city' (see comment). Kasher, *Egypt*, p.127 finds support in both passages for the view that the Leontopolis Jews were incorporated as a πολίτευμα; they were then loosely described as citizens of a city. This may well be right, but the phrases are probably conventional and not to be over-pressed as evidence for local organization. 'A friend to all the citizens', in conjunction with l.9 'best in counsel' (see comment), suggests, however, that Theon was a councillor.

8 χρηστός: probably 'a good citizen', 'one who worthily fulfils his civic duties' (compare the address of Antiochus IV's letter τοῖς χρηστοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τοῖς πολῖταις, *REB* 'to my worthy citizens, the Jews', according to II Macc. ix 19); but possibly with overtones of 'gracious, kind' which are strong in the Septuagintal usage of the word to render בּוֹט. ἐκοιμήθη: possibly here with the overtone of 'was put to bed', i.e. was buried. The euphemism of sleep for death follows a widespread biblical and non-Jewish Greek usage, and can but need not imply hope of awakening; compare Job xiv 7-12, Eccles. xlv 19-20 with (Moschus), *Lament for Bion* 99-104 (no awakening), and contrast Dan. xii 2, I Cor. xv 20 (rising).

ἀλλογενῶν: Bernand, p.279, says that traces of two *lambdas* can be made out. Lewis judged that Peek's restoration of the *hapax legomenon* ἀμμογενῶν was probably to be preferred; 'if the deceased is buried among strangers, he should say where he does come from, and for this there appears to be no

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room'. Bernand's fresh reading of the stone should be followed, however, with consequent acceptance that the expected reference to home is probably missing, unless it stood at the beginning. Reference to 'strangers' might suit a Leontopolis councillor buried not in his own Jewish city (see notes on no.30, ll.5-6, above) but in a smaller Jewish community in the suburbs of Heliopolis; a hostile remark of 'the Heliopolitans' on the exodus is noted in Artapanus, frag. 3.35 (Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, i, p.705). ἀλλογενής is echoed from the Pentateuchal laws (e.g. Exod. xii 43) in Philo, *Spec. Leg.* i 124 and the warning inscription of Herod's temple (*CIJ* 1400; the paraphrase in Josephus, *B.J.* v 194 uses ἀλλόφυλος).

9 ὁ Παοῦτος: with the Egyptian name Paos, also found in a papyrus of the second or first century B.C. (*CPJ* 46), compare the diminutive Paoution in a Leontopolis epitaph, no.97, above. E. Bernand places a colon after ἄριστος, referring 'best in counsel' to Paos rather than Theon; but the couplet seems stronger without this colon. Both lines then refer wholly to Theon, contrasting his life as an admired adviser with his lying dead in the tomb (so *CPJ*).

Stele with upper part missing, 42 x 44 cm., recessed field. Letter forms: Α Ε Γ Ω.

115 (Plate XXVI; *CIJ* ii no.1531): Fayum (?): 2nd century B.C. (?). Stele; donation.

French Institute of Oriental Archaeology at Cairo.

Text follows E. Bernand, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum* iii no.206, p.138.

Ἐλεάζαρος Νικολάου | ἡγεμὼν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ | καὶ Εἰρήνης τῆς
γυναι|κὸς τὸ ὥρολόγιον καὶ τὸ φρέαρ.

Eἰρήνης (l.3): *SB* Ἐλένης (apparently a mistake)

Eleazar, son of Nikolaos, the officer, on behalf of himself and Eirene his wife, (set up) the sundial and the well.

G. Lefebvre, 'Inscriptions grecques d'Égypte', *BCH* 26 (1902), p.454 no.16 (from a copy by U. Bouriant, sent to Lefebvre by P. Jouguet); *SB* i (1915), p.7 no.27; H. Gauthier, 'Monuments et fragments appartenant à l'Institut

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Français', *BIFAO* 12 (1916), pp.143-4 no.19 (from the stone); E.J. Pilcher, 'Notes and queries', *PEFQS* (1916), pp.153-4; *SB* iii (1926), p.30 no.6210; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.438-9 no.1531; L. Robert, 'Inscriptions grecques de Sidé en Pamphylie', *RPh* 32 (1958), p.44 n.2; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.163 no.1531; P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* i (1972), pp.138-140, 283; ii, p.443 n.775; E. Bernand, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum* iii (1981), pp.138-140 no.206, pl.37 (photograph; from the stone).

S. de Ricci, Review of Wilcken, *RevArch* 38 (1901), p.305; S. de Ricci, 'Paleography', *JE* ix (1905), p.473; E. Schürer, *Geschichte* iii (1909), p.46; J. Juster, *Les juifs dans l'empire romain* i (1914) p.498, ii p.267; M.N. Tod, 'Greek inscriptions', *JEA* 6 (1920), p.215; A. Neppi Modona, 'La vita pubblica e privata degli ebrei in Egitto', *Aegyptus* 3 (1922), p.24; L. Fuchs, *Die Juden Aegyptens* (1924), p.67; M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques* i (1949), p.545; ii (1950), p.1233; W. Peremans and E. van 't Dack, *Prosopographica Ptolemaica* ii (1952), p.37 no.2078; S.M. Ruozzi Sala, *Lexicon nominum semiticorum* (1974), p.13; G. Dellling, 'Biblisch-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten', *BSAC* 22 (1974-5), p.9; E. Bernand, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum* i (1975), p.17 n.53; A. Kasher, 'First Jewish military units in Ptolemaic Egypt', *JSJ* 9 (1978), pp.65-6; P. Lévêque, 'Les inscriptions grecques du Fayoum', *DHA* 7 (1981), p.363; B.J. Brooten, *Women leaders in the ancient synagogue* (1982), p.10; A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (1985), p.46; p.127 n.67; Schürer revised iii.i (1986), p.53; C. Sirat et al., *La ketoubra de Cologne* (1986), p.34 n.13; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.113 no.350; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.691 n.118; P. Trebilco, *Jewish communities in Asia Minor* (1991), p.259 n.28.

On the names of the donor and his wife, see nos.42 and 67, above. Nikolaos (cf. nos.11 and 32, above) was also a common name in the Jewish Diaspora, e.g. Acts vi 5 (a proselyte of Antioch), *CIJ* 707 (from Macedonia).

Pilcher, Launey and Tod dated the inscription to about 200 B.C. Other writers have been less specific, e.g. Juster (pre-Christian) and the revised Schürer (Hellenistic). According to Bernand, the lettering is of 'basse époque hellénistique'. The attribution to the Fayum is due to Lefebvre. De Ricci supposed it to come from Tell el-Yehoudieh, but apparently without any evidence other than the names; he also said that the stone was in the Gizeh Museum. Gauthier, who saw it in the collection of the I.F.A.O. and was apparently unaware that it had already been published by Lefebvre, gave no

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date or provenance. Lefebvre's information about provenance may therefore have come from someone other than Pierre Jouguet, the Director of the I.F.A.O., who provided him with a copy of the inscription. Other writers, including Bernard, have accepted the Fayum provenance.

Robert (along with several earlier writers) saw ἡγεμών as a military title, not a Jewish office. Kasher (pp.45-6) points out that the Fayum was an important area of Jewish military settlement, and also that there were high-ranking Jewish officers in both Jewish and integrated units of the Egyptian army even before the time of Onias IV. There is much papyrological evidence for Jewish soldiers (*CPJ* i pp.147-178). Pilcher believed there was nothing to show if the title was military or religious, and *CIJ* took it as a Jewish religious title. It is in fact only Eleazar's Jewish name which has raised any doubt at all about his being a military officer, and there is no good reason for not taking ἡγεμών in the obvious military sense. It did not apply to a specific rank, but could be used by the commander of a small group of soldiers or of a significant unit (Bernard, p.140); it later became the designation of the Prefect of Egypt. Fraser's description (i p.283) of the inscription as 'entirely pagan' has no justification, given that the names include one which is clearly Jewish and two which were favoured by Jews, and that there was no reason why a Jew should not hold military office in Egypt.

Robert noted that there was also a sundial at the Delos synagogue (cf. Juster, i p.498). S.L. Gibbs, *Greek and Roman sundials* (New Haven, 1976), lists five Egyptian sundials (nos.1040G, 3086G, 3087, 3089, 4015); none have inscriptions, and she does not mention this inscription. Sundials dedicated to divinities do occur (8003, 8004), and there is an example from Pergamum (8006) of an inscription merely giving the donor's name. The synagogue at Ostia had a well, originally outside, but incorporated within the 4th century building (M.F. Squarciapino, 'The synagogue at Ostia', *Archaeology* 16 (1963), pp.194-203). On the importance of the water-supply for a synagogue, cf. *CPJ* ii p.221. Other evidence for synagogues being built near rivers or being provided with cisterns is collected by W. Schrage, *TDNT* vii s.v. συναγωγή, cols.814-5; K.H. Rengstorf (*TDNT* vi s.v. ποταμός, col.602) points out that well-water might be preferred to river-water for some ritual purposes. Pilcher translated φρέαρ as 'drinking fountain', but there is no reason to reject the word's usual meaning; κρήνη would be a more natural term for a fountain, and a synagogue at Smyrna is recorded in a restored inscription as having one (*CIJ* 751). Wells dedicated to Egyptian divinities occur in *SB* iv 8331 (Tentyris, reign of Trajan) and v 8036 (Koptos, 110/107 B.C.). Nothing in this inscription says that Eleazar made the donation to a synagogue, and

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it is possible (as Fraser and Lewis note) that the sundial and well were for public use. However, it is apparent from other inscriptions actually found in synagogues (e.g. the mosaics from Apamaea in Syria, Lifshitz, *Donateurs*, nos.38-56) that the synagogue need not be mentioned on a donor's inscription which was meant to be read within the building or precincts.

Limestone stele, 21 x 43 cm., inscribed frame, guide-lines above and below each line of lettering. Letter forms: Α Ε Ι Τ Σ Ω.

116 (Plate XXVII; *CIJ* ii no.1532): Fayum: 29 B.C. Stele; votive. National Museum, Warsaw (see no.59).

Text follows O. Rubensohn, *APF* 5 (1913) no.10, p.163, with additional indications of doubtful letters shown by photograph provided by National Museum, Warsaw.

θεῶν μεγάλῳ | μεγάλῳ ὑψίστῳ | ὑπὲρ Ἐπιτυχίας | [τ]ῆς καὶ
Διονυσίας | [κ]αὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς || [Α]ρποχρᾶτος καὶ | τῶν
τέκνων | κατ' εὐχῆν. | (ἔτους) β' Καίσαρος [*sic*], | Φαῶφι ζ'.

To the greatest and highest God, on behalf of Epitychia also called Dionysia and on behalf of her husband Harpochras and their children, in fulfilment of a vow. In the 2nd year of Caesar, Phaophi 6.

O. Rubensohn, 'Neue Inschriften aus Aegypten', *APF* 5 (1913), p.163 no.10 (from the stone); U. Wilcken, 'Zum alexandrinischen Antisemitismus', *ASAW* 27 (1919), p.785 n.3; L. Fuchs, *Die Juden Aegyptens* (1924), pp.128-9; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.439-440 no.1532; *CPJ* i (1958), p.95 n.4; *CPJ* iii (1964), pp.163-4 no.1532; E. Bernand, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum*, i (1975) p.17 n.54; iii (1981), pp.143-4 no.210.

A. Neppi Modona, 'La vita pubblica degli ebrei in Egitto nell'età', *Aegyptus* 2 (1921), p.271; A.B. Cook, *Zeus. A study in ancient religion*, ii.ii (1925), p.889; C. Roberts, T.C. Skeat & A.D. Nock, 'The gild of Zeus Hypsistos', *HTR* 29 (1936), p.69 n.80; L. Robert, 'Reliefs votifs et cultes d'Anatolie', *Anatolia* 3 (1958) = *Opera minora selecta* i, p.416 n.58; G. Zuntz, Review of *CPJ* iii, *JSS* 10 (1965), p.292; S. Applebaum, 'The legal status of the Jewish communities in the Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.424; C. Balconi, 'Documenti greci e latini', *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), p.270; M. Hengel, *Jews, Greeks and*

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barbarians (1980), p.95 n.15; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.127 no.760; M. Hengel, 'The interpenetration of Judaism and Hellenism', *CHJ* ii (1989), p.197 n.6.

This inscription was in the collection of the Lyceum Hosianum at Braunsberg, and is now in the National Museum at Warsaw (cf. no.59), inv.no.198839 MN; Bernand's statement that it is not at Warsaw with the rest of the Braunsberg collection is incorrect. Rubensohn was the only previous editor to inspect the stone, but a new photograph has now kindly been supplied by the National Museum of Warsaw.

Hengel is uncertain about the Jewish nature of this inscription (cf. his *Judaism and Hellenism* i pp.297ff). Rubensohn recognised that Theos Hypsistos is not always Jewish, but thought it was likely to be so in the Augustan period; the references he gives to the work of F. Cumont do not contain any evidence to support this. He noted that the dedicants might be proselytes or non-Jews. Rubensohn's views were followed by *CIJ*. Fuchs saw the inscription as a probable example of Egyptian syncretism, and compared it to the carefully worded thanksgivings by Jews at the Temple of Pan (nos.121, 122, below). Lewis (cf. *CPJ* i, p.95 n.4) is certain that the inscription is not Jewish. Theos Hypsistos is used in definitely (no.27) and apparently (nos.9, 105) Jewish inscriptions in Egypt from the Ptolemaic period, but also in pagan inscriptions of the same period, e.g. *SB* i 1323, from Alexandria, to Theos Hypsistos, Helios and Nemesis, and 4th century Christian inscriptions, e.g. *SB* iii 6584. *P.Lond.* 2710 (published in *HTR* 29 (1936), pp.39-88) concerns a guild of Zeus Hypsistos, and the discussion by Roberts, Skeat and Nock (pp.63-9) shows that Hypsistos is often found without Jewish influence, although they were undecided about the Jewishness of this inscription. μέγας μέγας (rather than a conventional superlative) was used for many minor Egyptian gods, e.g. Soknopaios (*SB* i 4209), Sokonnobchnoubis (Bernand, *Inscr. grecques du Fayoum* i no.20), Phramaretis (*SB* i 5755); Bernand (i no.14) notes the frequency of the 'double adjective' in the Fayoum. A proseuche dedication (no.13, above) apparently refers (after restoration) to God as θεῶι μεγάλῳ ἐπηκόῳ. A 2nd century A.D. inscription from Lydia (Robert p.411) to θεῶ ὑψίστῳ καὶ μέγαλῳ θεῷ ἐπιφανεί provides a close parallel to this inscription, and is not Jewish; another from Galatia (*SEG* xxxi 1080, 2nd or 3rd century A.D.) to τῷ μεγάλῳ θεῷ ὑψίστῳ καὶ ἐπουρανίῳ is likely to be Jewish, or under Jewish influence, because of the use of προσευχή apparently in the sense of a building. In the case of the present inscription, the evidence is ambiguous but does not seem to justify

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rejection of the possibility that Theos Hypsistos is the Jewish God.

One of the names, Dionysia, also occurs in *CPJ* 143 (Alexandria, 13 B.C.). The phrase κατ' εὐχὴν (1.8) occurs in a Jewish inscription from Panticapaeum on the Black Sea (*CIJ* 683), although it is not the normal formula for a votive offering in Jewish inscriptions from Egypt or elsewhere; cf. ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς in no.134, below, and in Christian inscriptions such as *SB* i 1597. Dedications using ὑπὲρ with the names of the dedicator and his or her family are common (see *Formulae Index*; there are also as many inscriptions using it with the names of the rulers), but it is not usual to find the wife named before her husband: there are parallels in *SB* i 4116 (a proskynema to Isis and Serapis) and iv 8331 (dedication of a well at Tentyris, reign of Trajan, specifically from the dedicator's own money); a Jewish parallel is Lifshitz, *Donateurs* no.55, from Syria.

Limestone stele damaged at the top and on the left-hand side, 34 x 25 cm., with a raised border at the top. Traces of white paint in letters, guide-lines. Letter forms: Α Ε C Ω. Numeral: ζ.

117 (*CPJ* iii no.1532a): Arsinoe-Crocodilopolis (Medinet el-Fayum): 246-221 B.C. Stele; honorific dedication of proseuche.

Unknown.

Text follows E. Bernand, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum* i no.1, p.17, with additional indication of missing text.

ὑπὲρ βασιλέως | Πτολεμαίου τοῦ | Πτολεμαίου καὶ | βασιλίσσης
| Βερενίκης τῆς || γυναικὸς καὶ | ἀδελφῆς καὶ τῶν | τέκνων οἱ ἐν
Κροκ[ο]ιδίων πόλει Ἰουδαῖοι τὴν προ[σευχὴν] || [- - -]

προ[σευχὴν] (1.10): *CPJ* προ[σ]ε[υχὴν]

missing text in 1.11 given only by *CPJ*, but apparent from photograph

On behalf of king Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy, and queen Berenice his wife and sister and their children, the Jews in Crocodilopolis (dedicated) the proseuche

A. Vogliano, 'La dedica della sinagoga di Crocodilopolis', *RFIC* 17 (1939), pp.247-251 (photograph and facsimile; from the stone) = 'Rapporto

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preliminare delle 5^a campagna di scavo a Madinet Maḍr, *ASAE* 39 (1939), pp.692-5 & pl.CXXX (with majuscule text); J. & L. Robert, *BE* (1940), p.234 no.199; *BE* (1954), p.104 no.24; *SB* v (1955), p.362 no.8939; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.164 no.1532a; B. Lifshitz, *Donateurs* (1967), pp.80-1 no.99; E. Bernand, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum* i (1975), pp.16-18 no.1, pl.2 (photograph and facsimile); J. Méléze-Modrzejewski, *Les juifs d'Égypte* (1991), pp.76-8 (photograph).

M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques* i (1949), p.549 n.5; V.A. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic civilization and the Jews* (1959), p.297 n.3, p.303 n.28; A. Kasher, 'Three Jewish communities of Lower Egypt', *SCIsr* 2 (1975), p.116 nn.15,20; P.E. Dion, 'Synagogues et temples', *Science et Esprit* 29 (1977), p.55; M. Hengel, *Jews, Greeks and barbarians* (1980), p.95 n.14; J. Méléze-Modrzejewski, 'Splendeurs grecques et misères romaines', in *Les juifs du Nil*, ed. J. Hassoun (1981), p.27; A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (1985), p.110 n.7, p.138, p.202 n.50; Schürer revised iii.i (1986), p.52; G.H.R. Horsley, *New documents* iii (1986), p.121; J.G. Griffiths, 'Egypt and the rise of the synagogue', *JTS* n.s.38 (1987), p.3; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.700 n.181; H. Hegermann, 'The Diaspora in the Hellenistic age', *CHJ* ii (1989), p.137 n.6, p.151 n.3; M. Hengel, 'The interpenetration of Judaism and Hellenism', *CHJ* ii (1989), p.197 n.5; P. Trebilco, *Jewish communities in Asia Minor* (1991), p.260 n.38.

This inscription, which was bought from a dealer at Medinet el-Fayum, can be compared to the other dedications of Egyptian proseuchai (see Buildings Index). The wording is particularly similar to nos.22 from Schedia and 27 from Athribis. This inscription and no.22 both date from the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes I (some years after his marriage in 246, in view of the reference to his children) and are the earliest proseuche dedications anywhere; this one is also the earliest dated inscription from Arsinoe-Crocodilopolis (Bernand, p.16). The stone is broken at the bottom, and Vogliano's photograph indicates that there was at least one more line of text, presumably specifying other buildings like no.9 or with a divine title in the dative like no.27.

Arsinoe-Crocodilopolis was a significant centre of Jewish settlement. There is also papyrological evidence for a Jewish building there, from a land survey of the late 2nd century B.C. (*CPJ* 134) which refers to a proseuche built next to a canal and to the town boundary. The Fayum village of Alexandrou Nesos had a proseuche in 217 B.C. (*CPJ* 129) and there is a

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contract between two Jews of Arsinoe-Crocodilopolis dated to 182 B.C. (*CPJ* 23), and . By A.D.113, the town had at least two synagogues: a document dealing with charges for the supply of water (*CPJ* 432) refers both to the proseuche of the Jews of the Thebaid and to the *eucheion*. People with Jewish names were recorded on tax-lists from the town and surrounding villages in the 3rd century B.C. (*CPR* xiii, pp.43-4), and a papyrus of A.D.73 (*CPJ* 421) lists 15 residents liable for the Jewish tax.

Limestone stele with lower right-hand corner missing, 33 x 26.5 cm. Guidelines, and a vertical line marking the left-hand edge. Letter forms: Α Ε Γ Σ Ω.

118 (Plate XXVIII; *CIJ* ii no.1533): Area around Al-Minya: 2nd century A.D. or later. Plaque; epitaph (?); Hebrew.

Cairo Museum.

Text follows L.A. Mayer and A. Reifenberg, *ASAE* 33 (1933), pp.81-2 (from Aimé-Giron's photograph).

יהוה

Aimé-Giron: יהוה

Judan.

The name is surrounded by numerous symbols (see notes)

N. Aimé-Giron, 'Titulus funéraire juif d'Égypte', *ASAE* 22 (1922), pp.276-8 and pl.6 (photograph; from the stone); L.A. Mayer and A. Reifenberg, 'A Jewish titulus from Egypt', *ASAE* 33 (1933), pp.81-2; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.440-1 no.1533 (photograph); *CPJ* iii (1964), p.164 no.1533.

W.M. Flinders Petrie, 'Journals', *Ancient Egypt* (1925), p.122.

The stone was moved by the Egyptian Antiquities Service from its store at al-Minya (on the Nile south of Oxyrhynchus) to the Cairo Museum during the First World War, but there was no record of where it originally came from. The stone is thin and irregularly shaped, and Aimé-Giron thought it had perhaps been fixed to the wall of a tomb.

At the top of the stone, a menorah with a tripod is flanked by a shofar and a lulab, all engraved. There are two menorahs beneath, painted in red

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and with tripods and crossbars; the one on the left is flanked by a shofar and an ethrog. There is a sign shaped like a *phi* between the two menorahs, which may be another ethrog. The name is engraved above the lower right menorah. The use of the menorah probably implies a date after A.D.70, and Aimé-Giron suggested early 2nd century. Mayer and Reifenberg believed the name to be contemporary with the engraved menorah, while the painted symbols were added later. They read the name as the very well attested Judan (14 examples in *EJ*, mostly from the 2nd-4th centuries A.D.) rather than the otherwise unknown Haddan.

Irregular limestone plaque, 29 x 30 cm. (broadest dimensions).

119 (*CIJ* ii no.1534): Antinoopolis: 2nd century A.D. or later. Stele; epitaph; Hebrew.

Unknown.

Text follows D.M. Lewis, *CPJ* iii no.1534, p.165 (based on Euting's reading).

[- - - -]

לעזר נוח { }

נפשו בצרור

חיים

||.1-2: *CPJ* i לעזר בן פלוני קבר

.... (son) of Lazarus. May his soul rest in the bundle of life !

There are symbols below the text (see notes)

J. Euting, 'Hebräische Inschriften aus Antinoe', *ZÄSÄ* 34 (1896), p.164 (facsimile; from the stone); A. Neppi Modona, 'La vita pubblica e privata degli ebrei in Egitto', *Aegyptus* 2 (1921), p.275; J. Gutmann, 'Antinoe', *EJ* ii (1928), col.917; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.441-2 no.1534; *CPJ* i (1958), p.108 n.50; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.165 no.1534.

E. Schürer, *Geschichte* iii (1909), p.48; L. Fuchs, *Die Juden Aegyptens* (1924), p.117; U. Fischer, *Eschatologie und Jenseitserwartung* (1978), pp.231-2; H.C.C. Cavallin, 'Leben nach dem Tode im Spätjudentum', *ANRW* II.19.1

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(1979), p.322 n.582; Schürer revised iii.i (1986), p.56; C. Sirat et al., *La ketouba de Cologne* (1986), p.34 n.15.

The stone was found in 1896 during the excavation of the Christian cemetery at Antinoopolis, where it had been re-used in a 5th or 6th century burial; Euting noted signs of fire on it. The form of the name (presumably a patronymic) is a variant of El(e)azar (see no.42, above); it is possible that an initial *aleph* has been lost. There are a menorah and a lulab beneath the text. The inscription is therefore likely to date from after A.D.70, and probably from after the foundation of Antinoopolis in 132, although Ptolemaic and Augustan remains have been found on the site (S. Donadoni, s.v. Antinoopolis in *Lexicon der Ägyptologie* i (1975), col.324) and Euting favoured a 1st century A.D. dating. The formula is almost identical to one found on a 6th century tomb from Spain (*CIJ* 661, which also has similarities to no.133, below) and another from Barce in North Africa which may even be medieval (A. Rowe (ed.), *Cyrenaican expedition of the University of Manchester 1952* p.57). Wording based as in these epitaphs on I Sam. xxv 29 was popular from the early Middle Ages onwards. The 2nd century dating suggested by Neppi Modona and *CPJ* i is treated only as a *terminus post quem* by Lewis and Sirat, and the revised Schürer regards the date as 'quite uncertain'. The meaning of the formula is very unclear; Fischer raises the possibility that the soul is imagined to be awaiting resurrection. There is little other evidence for a Jewish community at Antinoopolis; see no.120 below for another inscription. *CPJ* 511 (c.A.D.570) has a Jewish dyer leasing a workshop there, and the *ketuba* published by C. Sirat et al. is from 417, written in Aramaic and Greek, in Hebrew characters; coincidentally, the name of the bride's father is the same as the patronymic here, לעזר.

120 (*CIJ* ii no.1535): Antinoopolis: 2nd century A.D. or later (?). Stele; epitaph.

Cairo Museum.

Text follows G. Lefebvre, *Recueil* no.189, p.37.

Μαρία θυ|γάτηρ Φ|αμσωθιζ | ἐτῶν λε'. | ἐν εἰρήνῃ || ἡ κοίμησις
σοῦ.

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Μαρία θυ|γάτηρ Φ|αμσωθίς (Il.1-3): de Ricci Μα[ρ]θα Σιμεω[νος?]

Maria daughter of Phamsothis, 35 years old. May your rest be in peace.

S. de Ricci, 'Inscriptions grecques et coptes', *Annales du Musée Guimet* 30 (1902-3), p.142 no.8, pl.I no.8 (facsimile of copy in excavation notebooks); G. Lefebvre, *Recueil* (1907), p.37 no.189 (from the stone); *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.442-3 no.1535; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.165 no.1535.

C. Clermont-Ganneau, *RAO* v (1903), p.371; S. de Ricci, 'Paleography', *JE* ix (1905), p.473; E. Schürer, *Geschichte* iii (1909), p.48; J. Gutmann, 'Antinoe', *EJ* ii (1928), col.917; G. Delling, 'Biblisch-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten', *BSAC* 22 (1974-5), p.22; Schürer revised iii.i (1986), p.56; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.96 no.99; G.H.R. Horsley, *New documents* iv (1987), p.226.

De Ricci received copies of inscriptions found during excavations at the Antinoopolis necropolis in 1902 from the excavator, M. Gayet, but noted that they were made in haste and often inexact. His own attempt to restore the text produced a version far removed from that published by Lefebvre, but a number of corrections suggested by Clermont-Ganneau produced a version very similar to that published by Lefebvre from his own reading. Lefebvre treated it as a Christian inscription, and Lewis regards it as not certainly Jewish. Like no.113, it may have been re-used in a Christian burial, as suggested in *CIJ*. The name Maria might be Jewish – a Jewish woman named Maria paid poll-tax at Apollinopolis Magna in A.D.114 and 116 (*CPJ* 223 & 227) – but could well be Christian (or even Roman). The name Phamsothis does not occur elsewhere. However, the formula ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἡ κοίμησις σου is a very strong argument in favour of Jewishness. It does not occur among Christian burials at Antinoopolis, and is not in *SB*, but it was commonly used by Jews, e.g. *CIJ* 85 and 90 from Rome, and 536, 540 and 588 (with αὐτῆς instead of σου) from elsewhere in Italy; its Hebrew equivalent is found in no.133, below; cf. no.114 l.8 on the significance of ἐκοιμήθην. The only opinion expressed about the date of the inscription is in the entry for Phamsothis in Preisigke's *Namenbuch*, which calls it Byzantine. It is likely to be later than the foundation of Antinoopolis in A.D.132, and earlier than the use of Hebrew in no.119 above, but even these limits are far from certain.

Limestone stele, 24 x 15 cm. Letter forms: Α Ε C Ω.

121 (CIJ ii no.1537): Temple of Pan, El-Kanais: 2nd or 1st century B.C. (?). Thanksgiving.

Temple of Pan, El-Kanais (on a rock).

Text follows A. Bernand, *Le Paneion d'el Kanais* no.42, p.106, with the spelling of the name as emended by J. Bingen, *CE* 48 (1973), pp.197-8.

θεοῦ εὐλογία | Θεῦ(ο)δοτος Δωριῶνος | Ἰουδαῖος σωθεὶς ἐκ
πε|λ(άγ)ους.

SB prints this inscription as a continuation of no.122

Θεῦ(ο)δοτος (l.1): Bernand Θεῦδοτος, Oehler Θεῦδοτος, *CIG* Θεῦδοτος ἐκ πε|λ(άγ)ους (ll.3-4): Schwarz ἐκ Πελοῦς[του], *CIG* ἐκ [Τρωγ]λο[δ]υ[τικῆς], Lepsius ἐκ [Τρωγ]λο[δ]υ[τῶν], ΠΕΛΟΥΣ on the stone

Bless God. Theodotos son of Dorion, the Jew, returned safely from overseas [or saved from the sea].

A.J. Letronne, *Recueil des inscriptions* ii (1848), p.252 (from a copy by J.G. Wilkinson); K.R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, Abt. vi, Band xii, Blatt 81, no.136 (facsimile; from the original); *CIG* iii (1853), pp.400 & 1217 no.4838c; W. Schwarz, 'Die Inschriften des Wüstentempels von Redesiye', *JKPh* 153 (1896), pp.157-8 no.10; *OGIS* i (1903), pp.125-6 no.74; J. Oehler, 'Epigraphische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Judentums', *MGWJ* 53 (1909), p.452 no.231; L. Fuchs, *Die Juden Aegyptens* (1924), p.129; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.445 no.1537; *SB* v (1955), p.253 no.8383; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.165 no.1537; L. Robert, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes* (1964), p.30 n.2; A. Bernand, *Le Paneion d'el Kanais* (1972), pp.105-9 no.42, pl.37.1 and 38.2 (from the original and a squeeze; photographs of both); P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* ii (1972), p.302 n.353, pp.309-10 n.378; M. Guarducci, *Epigrafi greca* iii (1975), p.206.

E. Schürer, *Geschichte* iii (1909), p.50; M. Rostovtzeff, 'Foreign commerce of Ptolemaic Egypt', *JEBH* 4 (1932), p.743; M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques* i (1949), p.546; ii (1950), p.1234; V.A. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic civilization and the Jews* (1959), p.339 n.25, p.352 n.45; L. Robert,

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Hellenica xi-xii (1960), p.394 n.4; J. & L. Robert, *BE* (1973), p.201 no.530; J. Bingen, Review of A. Bernand, *CE* 48 (1973), pp.197-8; G. Delling, 'Biblisch-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten', *BSAC* 22 (1974-5), p.11 n.3; J.N. Sevenster, *The roots of pagan anti-semitism* (1975), p.74; G. Geraci, Review of A. Bernand, *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), pp.350-1; M. Hengel, *Jews, Greeks and barbarians* (1980), p.102; E. Bernand, *Répertoire bibliographique des OGIS* (1982) no.74 pp.21-2; Schürer revised iii.i (1986), p.58; p.138 n.1; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.685 n.85; R.S. Kraemer, 'On the meaning of the term 'Jew' in Greco-Roman inscriptions', *HTR* 82 (1989), p.46; M. Hengel, 'The interpenetration of Judaism and Hellenism', *CHJ* ii (1989), p.205 n.4; P. Trebilco, *Jewish communities in Asia Minor* (1991), p.252 n.54.

This inscription and nos.122-4, below, come from a temple of Pan in the desert east of Apollinopolis Magna (Edfu), on the road to Berenice and the Red Sea. The site has traditionally been referred to as Redesiyyeh, but A. Bernand (p.xviii) argues that this is confusing and that El-Kanaïs is the correct place-name to use. The fact that someone who calls himself a Jew should give thanks at a temple of Pan has caused some comment; Kraemer writes: 'Perhaps this inscription demonstrates that Jews could and did honour other gods under some circumstances', and *CIJ* suggests that Pan was considered because of his name to be a universal god. In fact, the inscription is written on the rock face west of the temple, inside a frame, without the dedication to Pan Euodos which occurs in most of the site's inscriptions. A. Bernand suggests that the frame is intended to isolate the inscription from the neighbouring text, which is to Pan. By positioning and wording, this inscription suggests that the god referred to is not Pan. There was, as Bingen notes, no obligation for Theodotos (or Ptolemy in no.122) to indicate their Jewishness; their doing so was a positive statement.

εὐλογία is found in many Jewish inscriptions, e.g. εὐλογία πᾶσιν in the synagogues at Aegina and Apamaea (Lifshitz, *Donateurs* nos.2, 38), εὐλογία τῷ λαῷ at Huldah, Palestine (Lifshitz no.81a). The translation 'Bless' follows the Septuagintal translation of בָּרַךְ by εὐλογεῖν, as at LXX Ps. cii 1, ciii 1 'Bless the Lord', and the epigraphic correspondence between εὐλογία and Aramaic בִּרְכָּה (Dothan, *Hammath Tiberias*, pp.54, 59). In the dedicant's name, a small *omicron* appears to have been inserted later between the *upsilon* and *delta*, probably to replace the *upsilon*; otherwise it gives a new spelling otherwise unattested in Egypt. However, Bingen suggests that it might be a fault in the surface of the stone rather than a letter. Two Jews

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named Theodotos are recorded at Apollinopolis Magna in the Flavian period (D. Rokeah, Prosopography, in *CPJ* iii), and Theudotos the husband of Mariam may have been a Jewish inhabitant of Trikomia in the Arsinoite nome in the 3rd century B.C. (*CPR* xiii 4.171). The forms Theodotos and Theudotos were both used by Jews in Cyrenaica, as was the father's name Dorion, which is otherwise unrecorded among Egyptian Jews.

There have been many ingenious suggestions about what Theodotos was 'saved' from; the idea that it was the Troglodytes derives from other inscriptions at the site (e.g. A. Bernand no.42). Dittenberger's restoration $\pi\epsilon\lambda(\acute{\alpha}\gamma)\nu\omicron\varsigma$ seems much more plausible. Guarducci interpreted it as 'saved from shipwreck', but Dittenberger noted that the force of $\sigma\omega\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ need be no more than 'returned safely from', without indicating immediate danger; cf. Bernand nos.72 and 96, where this sense is clear. Bernand points out that marks on the stone after the *sigma* are accidental, not traces of letters. Launey suggested that Theodotos and Ptolemy (no.122) were members of a corps patrolling the Thebaid desert, like the dedicants in Bernand no.44; Letronne thought Theodotos was a merchant. In fact, there is no evidence at all to suggest how these Jews came to be at the temple.

The only evidence on which to date the inscription is the writing. Bernand assigns it to the late Ptolemaic period (mid-2nd – late 1st century B.C.), but acknowledges (p.30) the unreliability of such criteria. Fraser (p.302 n.353) suggests, also on the basis of the lettering, that this inscription and no.122 might be from the Roman period.

Frame 12 x 37 cm., only partly filled. Letter forms: A € C Ω.

122 (CIJ ii no.1538): Temple of Pan, El-Kanais: 2nd or 1st century B.C. (?). Thanksgiving.

Temple of Pan, El-Kanais (on a rock).

Text follows A. Bernand, *Le Paneion d'el Kanais* no.34, p.96.

εὐλόγει τὸν θεόν. | Πτολεμαῖος | Διονυσίου | Ἰουδαῖος.

εὐλόγει τὸν θεόν. (l.1): *OGIS*, *CIJ*, Guarducci εὐλογεῖ τὸν θεόν

Praise God. Ptolemy, son of Dionysios, the Jew.

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A.J. Letronne, *Recueil des inscriptions* ii (1848), p.252 (from a copy by J.G. Wilkinson); K.R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, Abt.vi, Band xii, Blatt 81, no.144 (facsimile; from the original); *CIG* iii (1853), p.400 no.4838c; W. Schwarz, 'Die Inschriften des Wüstentempels von Redesiye', *JKPh* 153 (1896), p.164 no.28; *OGIS* i (1903), p.125 no.73; J. Oehler, 'Epigraphische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Judentums', *MGWJ* 53 (1909), p.452 no.231; L. Fuchs, *Die Juden Aegyptens* (1924), p.129; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.445 no.1538; *SB* v (1955), p.253 no.8383; L. Robert, *Hellenica* xi-xii (1960), p.394 n.4; *CPJ* iii (1964), pp.165-6 no.1538; L. Robert, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes* (1964), p.30 n.2; A. Bernand, *Le Paneion d'el Kanais* (1972), pp.95-6 no.34, pl.34, 1 & 2 (from the original and a squeeze; photographs of both); M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca* iii (1975), pp.205-6, pl.79 (photograph of squeeze).

E. Schürer, *Geschichte* iii (1909), p.58, p.135; M. Rostovtzeff, 'Foreign commerce of Ptolemaic Egypt', *JEBH* 4 (1932), p.743; M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques* i (1949), p.546, ii (1950), p.1234; V.A. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic civilization and the Jews* (1959), p.339 n.25, p.352 n.45; P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* ii (1972), p.302 n.353; J. Bingen, Review of A. Bernand, *CE* 48 (1973), pp.197-8; J. & L. Robert, *BE* (1973), p.201 no.530; J.N. Sevenster, *The roots of pagan anti-semitism* (1975), p.74; G. Geraci, Review of A. Bernand, *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), pp.350-1; M. Hengel, *Jews, Greeks and barbarians* (1980), p.102; E. Bernand, *Répertoire bibliographique des OGIS* (1982) no.73, p.21; Schürer revised iii.i (1986), p.58; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.685 n.85; R.S. Kraemer, 'On the meaning of the term 'Jew' in Greco-Roman inscriptions', *HTR* 82 (1989), p.46; M. Hengel, 'The interpenetration of Judaism and Hellenism', *CHJ* ii (1989), p.205 n.4; P. Trebilco, *Jewish communities in Asia Minor* (1991), p.252 n.54.

See no.121 for comments on the site and dating. This inscription is also written in a frame on the rock-face west of the temple of Pan. The reading of the text is certain, and the only doubt is whether Ptolemy is the subject of the verb εὐλογεῖ or, as Bernand argues, the praise should be taken separately (as in no.121) and the verb treated as an imperative.

Frame 13 x 23 cm. Letter forms: A € C.

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123: Temple of Pan, El-Kanais: 2nd or 1st century B.C. (?). Temple graffiti.

Temple of Pan, El-Kanais (on a rock).

Text follows A. Bernand, *Le Paneion d'el Kanais*, no.73, pp.147-8.

Λάζαρ[ος] | ἐ[λήλυθ]α | τρί[τον].

I, Lazarus, came for the third time (?).

A. Bernand, *Le Paneion d'el Kanais* (1972), pp.147-8 no.73 (from the original).

J. & L. Robert, *BE* (1973), p.202 no.530; M. Hengel, *Jews, Greeks and barbarians* (1980), p.102; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.685 n.85.

The inscription is on the rock-face to the east of the temple (see no.121). Bernand was unable to examine it closely because of 'un grand trou dans le sol'. He dates it according to the lettering. In view of the uncommonness of the name Lazarus in Egypt, he suggests that the same person is referred to in no.124. For a Hebrew form of Lazarus used in Egypt, see no.119, above; no.149 below has the name in both Hebrew and Greek. Various forms of the name Eleazar occur in Egyptian inscriptions (see Names Index; also *CPJ* 428 col.I,8), and Lazarus can be regarded as another variant of that. Other dedicants also appear to have come three times (Bernand nos.87, 90), although τρίτος might also indicate 'with two others' (suggested by Dr D. Thompson).

13 x 20 cm. Letter forms: A.

124: Temple of Pan, El-Kanais: 2nd or 1st century B.C. (?). Temple graffiti.

Temple of Pan, El-Kanais (on a column).

Text follows A. Bernand, *Le Paneion d'el Kanais*, no.24 pp.85-6.

[- - - καὶ | Λάζαρ[ος] (?) | ἐλήλυθαν ἐ[νταῦθ]α τρίτον
YN[...]Y[.....]

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1.3: Bernand's majuscule text reads ΕΑΗΛΕΘΑΝC

1.4: Schwarz πατρι τὸ πον[θάνεσθαι (?), Bernand's majuscule text reads ΑΤΡΙΤΟΙΤΥΝ

.... and Lazarus came here for the third time

K.R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* (1848-9), Abt. vi, Band xii, Blatt 81, no.123 (facsimile; from the original); W. Schwarz, 'Die Inschriften des Wüstentempels von Redesiye', *JKPh* 153 (1896), p.170 no.58; A. Bernand, *Le Paneion d'el Kanaïs* (1972), pp.85-6 no.24, pl.29.3 (photograph of squeeze; from the original and a squeeze).

J. Bingen, Review of A. Bernand, *CE* 48 (1973), p.197; M. Hengel, *Jews, Greeks and barbarians* (1980), p.102.

This inscription is written on a column inside the Temple of Pan. Bernand dates it by letter forms. He reads a number of letters differently from Lepsius, and regards the apparently plural verb as necessitating another subject as well as 'Lazarus'. Bingen notes this inscription as an example of treatments in which Bernand only achieves a coherent text by altering his readings: for example, the *upsilon* of ἐλήλυθαν appears in Bernand's majuscule transcription as *epsilon*, and the *nu* of τρίτον appears as *pi*. The restoration of the name Lazarus must therefore be regarded as speculative, especially as the inscription was not written outside the temple like nos.121-3.

8 x 12 cm. Letter forms: A € C.

125 (Plate XXIX; *CIJ* ii no.1449): Uncertain origin (bought at Cairo): 145-116 B.C. (original). 47-31 B.C. (replacement). Plaque; proclamation of asylum (replacement copy); bilingual (Greek and Latin).

Bode Museum, Berlin.

Text follows *CIJ* ii, no.126 pp.375-6.

βασιλίσσης καὶ βασι|λέως προσταξάντων | ἀντὶ τῆς
προανακει|μένης περὶ τῆς ἀναθέσε|ως τῆς προσευχῆς πλα|κὸς ἡ
ὑπογεγραμμένη | ἐπιγραφῆτω [*uocat*] | βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος
Εὐ|εργέτης τὴν προσευχὴν ἄσυχον. | *Regina et || rex*

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iusser(un)t.

On the orders of the queen and king, in place of the previous plaque about the dedication of the proseuche let what is written below be written up. King Ptolemy Euergetes (proclaimed) the proseuche inviolate. The queen and king gave the order.

E. Miller, 'Inscriptions grecques découvertes en Égypte', *RevArch* 30 (1875), pp.111-2 (from a squeeze); T. Mommsen, 'Aegyptus', *Ephemeris Epigraphica* 4 (1881), pp.25-8; *CIL* iii suppl. (1902) p.1202 no.6583; *OGIS* i (1903), p.207 no.129, p.652; ii, p.544; J. Oehler, 'Epigraphische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Judentums', *MGWJ* 53 (1909), pp.451-2 no.228; *IGRR* i (1911), p.451-2 no.1315; U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie* i (1912), pp.78-9 no.54; A. Neppi Modona, 'La vita pubblica e privata degli ebrei in Egitto', *Aegyptus* 2 (1921), p.268 n.4; S. Krauss, *Synagogale Altertümer* (1922), pp.264-7, fig.4 (photograph); E. Diehl, *Inscriptiones latinae christianae veteres* ii (1927), p.499 no.4936; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.374-6 no.1449 (photograph); *SB* v (1955), p.347 no.8880; E. Gabba, *Iscrizioni greche e latine* (1958), no.8; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.144 no.1449; S. Safrai, 'The synagogue and its worship', in *The world history of the Jewish people* viii (1977), p.69, pl.1 (photograph); J. Bingen, 'L'asylie pour une synagogue', *Studia Paulo Naster* ii (1982), pp.11-16; Schürer revised iii.i (1986), p.47; G.H.R. Horsley, *New documents* iv (1987), p.201 no.110.3.

U. Wilcken, Review of H. Willrich's *Juden und Griechen*, *BPW* 16 (1896), pp.1493-5; M.L. Strack, *Die Dynastie der Ptolemäer* (1897), p.262 n.130; T. Reinach, 'Sur la date de la colonie juive d'Alexandrie', *REJ* 45 (1902), p.163; S. de Ricci, 'Paleography', *JE* ix (1905), p.473; E. Schürer, *Geschichte* iii (1909), p.41, cf. ii p.52; F. Cumont, *The oriental religions in Roman paganism* (1911), p.252 n.59; L. Fuchs, *Die Juden Aegyptens* (1924), p.8 nn.14-15; H.I. Bell, *Juden und Griechen im römischen Alexandria* (1926), pp.45, 50; S. Krauss, 'Synagoge', *RE* iv (1932), col.1306 no.126; E.R. Goodenough, *Jewish symbols* ii (1958), p.85; *CPJ* i (1958), p.249; V.A. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic civilization and the Jews* (1959), p.303 n.27, p.349 n.23; *SEG* xx (1964), p.172 no.695; A. Bernand, *Le delta égyptien* iii (1970), p.961; P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* i (1972), pp.283-4; ii, p.441 n.766; p.442 nn.770 and 772; S. Applebaum, 'The legal status of the Jewish communities in the Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.424; E. Bernand, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum* i (1975), p.18 n.67; A.

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Kasher, 'Three Jewish communities of Lower Egypt', *SCIsr* 2 (1975), p.116 n.19, p.121 n.45; E.M. Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman rule* (1976), p.517 n.49; S. Safrai, 'The synagogue', in Safrai and Stern ii (1976), p.911; P.E. Dion, 'Synagogues et temples', *Science et Esprit* 29 (1977), pp.55, 57-9; J. Méléze-Modrzejewski, 'Splendeurs grecques et misères romaines', in *Les juifs du Nil*, ed. J. Hassoun (1981), p.48; E. Bernand, *Répertoire bibliographique des OGIS* (1982), p.30-1 no.129; G.W. Bowersock, 'The miracle of Memnon', *BASP* 21 (1984), pp.31-2; A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (1985), p.110 n.6; p.111 n.10; p.138 n.95; p.223 n.63; *AE* (1985), p.235 no.838; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.693 n.132; J.G. Griffiths, 'Egypt and the rise of the synagogue', *JTS* n.s.38 (1987), p.10 n.42; H. Hegermann, 'The Diaspora in the Hellenistic age', *CHJ* ii (1989), p.137 n.7; J. Méléze-Modrzejewski, *Les juifs d'Égypte* (1991), p.84.

The king who originally granted asylum was probably Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, since asylum was rarely granted in the third century (Fraser, ii, n.772, quoting part of *OGIS* 761, on Ptolemaic grants of asylum to temples); the grant will then be near the time of nos.24 and 25, above. The queen and king who ordered the republication of the grant were identified by Mommsen as Zenobia and Vaballathus of Palmyra, giving a date of A.D.269-71. This view was supported on the grounds of supposedly late features of the lettering, and its general carelessness, but these grounds are questioned by Bingen, especially pp.14-15, showing that the queen and king are more probably Cleopatra VII and her brother Ptolemy XIV (47-44 B.C.) or her son Ptolemy XV (Caesarion) (44-31). Bingen ascribes the Latin addition to the probable vicinity of a Roman camp, perhaps also to a sense that power is passing from the Ptolemies to Rome. Use of the term 'proseuche' means that this is almost certainly a Jewish inscription (see 9, above, and 126, below).

Alabaster plaque, 44 cm. high. Letter forms: Α Ε Θ CÆ Ω.

126 (Plate XXX): Uncertain origin: 1st or early 2nd century A.D. Stele; dedication of proseuche.

Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

Text follows W.S. Fox, *AJP* 38 (1917) no.2, pp.411-2.

INSCRIPTIONS

Παποῦς οἰκοδόμησεν τὴν | προσευχὴν | ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ | καὶ τῆς
(γ)υναικὸς καὶ τῶν τέκνων | (ἔτους) δ' Φαρμουθι (ζ)'.

(γ)υναικὸς (ll.5-6) for τυναίκος on the stone

(ζ)' (l.9) for ξ' on the stone

Papous built the proseuche on behalf of himself and his wife and children. In the 4th year, Pharmouthi 7.

W.S. Fox, 'Greek inscriptions in the Royal Ontario Museum', *AJP* 38 (1917), pp.411-2 no.2 (from the stone); *SB* iii (1926), p.156 no.6832; D. Noy, 'A Jewish place of prayer in Roman Egypt', *JTS* (1992), forthcoming.

CPJ i (1958), p.8; M. Hengel, 'Proseuche und Synagoge', *Festschrift K.G. Kuhn* (1971), p.159 n.6; E. Bernand, 'Au Dieu très haut', *Hommages à J. Cousin* (1983), p.110.

The stele is scratched, and some edges are damaged, but the text appears complete. The Jewish nature of the inscription was not noted by Fox in his original publication, but V.A. Tcherikover included it in a list of references to Egyptian proseuchai in *CPJ* which was reproduced by Hengel and Bernand. Since proseuche here means a building, Jewishness is virtually certain: see no.9, above, for evidence that a building called a proseuche is almost always Jewish. There is certainly no evidence for the term being used by anyone other than Jews in Egypt.

1st-2nd century A.D. dating was suggested by Fox from the lettering. The verb οἰκοδομέω was used outside Egypt in synagogue inscriptions from the 1st century A.D., and in literary references to the building of synagogues (Lifshitz nos.1, 63, 79; Lk. vii 5; Josephus, *Ant.* xiii 67 on Onias' proposal to build a temple at Leontopolis). It occurs in two pagan dedications from the Fayum whose wording parallels Papous' inscription very closely: *SB* i 5957 (59 A.D.) and 4227 (156 A.D.). Although it is the obvious 'building' verb, it is not used in the other, earlier Egyptian synagogue inscriptions. It thus supports the evidence of the lettering about date. It is also notable that there is no dedication to the Ptolemaic royal house, as there is in all the other complete proseuche dedications from Egypt. It seems unlikely that a new proseuche would have been inaugurated in Egypt soon after the crushing of the Jewish revolt of A.D.115-7, so that is a probable *terminus ante quem*.

The building of a complete proseuche or synagogue by one individual or

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family was unusual, and implies substantial wealth. The only other Egyptian example is no.13, above; there are also instances from Palestine (Lk. vii 5; Lifshitz, *Donateurs* no.79), Aegina (Lifshitz no.1), Syria (Lifshitz no.63) and Asia Minor (Lifshitz nos.13, 33). There is some rather confused rabbinic evidence about wealthy Jewish brothers from Alexandria called Lulianus and Pappus who were executed at Lydda in the reign of Trajan (Sifra, B^ehuqqotay, pereq v 2 on Levit. xxvi 19; Midrash, Gen.R. lxiv 10; E.M. Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman rule* p.425; G. Alon, 'Ga'on, ge'im' in *Jews, Judaism and the classical world* (tr. I. Abraham, Jerusalem, 1977), pp.346-7). However, there is no question of identification with the man commemorated in this inscription, since the name Papous (or the forms Papos and Pappos) was used quite widely by Jews, e.g. no.132, below; a Hasmonean general killed fighting against Herod in 37 B.C. (Josephus, *B.J.* i 333, 335, 342); a name on an ossuary at Jerusalem (*CIJ* 1250); two other Talmudic examples (M. Jastrow, *Dictionary*, s.v.); as well as many non-Jewish occurrences in Preisigke's *Namenbuch* and Foraboschi's *Onomasticon*. Leonides of Alexandria (1st century A.D.) addressed an epigram to a Pappos (*A.P.* ix 353 = Page, *Further Greek epigrams*, II.1974-7).

Brown sandstone stele, 40.2 x 34.2 cm., recessed field. Letter forms: A ∈ C
O. Numeral: Z.

127 (CIJ ii no.1435): Uncertain origin (bought at Alexandria): late Roman (?). Fragment of marble plaque; dedication.
Louvre (transferred from Musée Guimet in 1945).
Text follows transcription by S. de Ricci, *BSAA* 11 (1909), pp.322-5, and some of his restorations.

[- - -] | λω κ Σαμούηλ Ἀλ[- -] [ἐ] | πικλη(θεῖς) Βορζοχο[ρίας
...] | ς τῶ(ι) Θ(ε)ῶ(ι) κ τῶ(ι) ἀγ[ίωι ὑπὲρ π] | αἰδ(ων) θ' τὸ σπ[- -]
| | νω τουτωι [- -]

κ (l.1): *CPJ* κ(ύριος), Lifshitz κ(αί)
...] ς τῶ(ι) (ll.2-3): de Ricci, *CIJ*, *CPJ*, Lifshitz εὐχαρί]στῶ
κ (l.3): de Ricci and Lifshitz κ(αί), *CPJ* κ(ύριος)
ἀγ[ίωι] (l.3): Lifshitz ἀγ[ίω τῷ]

INSCRIPTIONS

.... I, Samuel, also called Borzochorias, thank God, the lord, the holy, on behalf of my nine children

or and Samuel, also called Borzochorias, to God and to the holy (place?), on behalf of my nine children, the

....

S. de Ricci, 'Notes d'épigraphie égyptienne', *BSAA* 11 (1909), pp.322-5 nos.3-4, fig.73 (facsimile); *SB* i (1915), p.52 no.616; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.362-3 no.1435; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.140 no.1435a; B. Lifshitz, *Donateurs* (1967), p.77 no.88.

B.S.J. Isserlin, 'The names of the 72 translators of the Septuagint', *JANESCU* 5 (1973) p.192, p.195 n.21; S.M. Ruozzi Sala, *Lexicon nominum semiticorum* (1974), pp.12, 37; G. Dellling, 'Biblisch-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten', *BSAC* 22 (1974-5), p.10 n.2, p.28; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.693 n.134.

This dedication to a synagogue is one of a number of comparable inscriptions, three of which are certainly from Alexandria, as this may be (see 15, above). A late Roman date is suggested by similarity with *CIJ* 964 (A.D.604). De Ricci bought this marble fragment and no.128, below, in Alexandria in Spring 1905. He viewed them as two copies of the same inscription, and a combined minuscule text was printed in *CIJ* 1435; but Lewis, noting that the dedicants appear to have different patronymics and different by-names, concludes that it is safer to treat the two fragments as independent. The classification of the inscription as a thanksgiving depends on the restoration [εὐχαρι]στῶ, suggested by de Ricci (who compared the Ascalon inscription now *CIJ* 964, restored as εὐχαριστοῦντες), and adopted in *CIJ* 1435 and by *CPJ* and Lifshitz. The *sigma* might also be read, however, as the last letter of a title such as πρεσβύτερος or προστάτης, or of a vow formula such as ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς or ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας. τῷ(ι) would then be understood as the article before θεῶ(ι). The alternative translation offered above reflects the restoration ἀγ[ίῳ τόπῳ] (l.3); for the phrase 'to God and to the holy place', compare Lifshitz, *Donateurs* no.70 = *CIJ* 964 (Ascalon), and no.72 = *CIJ* 966 (region of Gaza), and see no.16, above. Lifshitz combines this restoration with that of [εὐχαρι]στῶ, but must then translate 'je remercie Dieu et le Saint Lieu'. This striking interpretation accords with his understanding of *CIJ* 964 and 966, and of his no.73a (Gaza) (see Lifshitz, *Donateurs*, p.89 'Index grec', s.v. εὐχαριστεῖν); but in each instance it seems more likely that another verb of offering or renewal has (the deity and) the holy place as

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indirect object. Here, then, in view of the parallels, there is a good case for ἀγ[ίω τόπω], but it seems preferable to avoid the restoration [εὐχαρι]στῶ. Note τὸ στ[ήλωμα], 'the pillar' (see Judges ix 6, Aquila; Is. vi 13, Theodotion) as a tentative possible restoration of το στ[] (1.4); the stroke transcribed as *iota* could perhaps also be read as the left-hand hasta of *eta*, since it is immediately followed by a break in the marble.

Marble fragment. Letter forms: Α λ C Ω.

128 (CIJ ii no.1435): Uncertain origin (bought at Alexandria; see no.127): uncertain date. Fragment of marble plaque; thanksgiving or dedication.

Louvre (transferred from Musée Guimet in 1945).

Text follows transcription by S. de Ricci, *BSAA* 11 (1909), pp.323-4.

[- - -]|λλελω κ Σα[μούηλ (?) - -] | Νόννου ἐπ[ικληθεὶς - -
]|ριστ[- -]

.... Sa(muel?) ..., son of Nonnus(?), called ...rist...

S. de Ricci, 'Notes d'épigraphie égyptienne', *BSAA* 11 (1909), pp.322-5 nos.3-4, fig.74 (facsimile); *SB* i (1915), p.52 no.616; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.362-3 no.1435; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.140 no.1435b.

For comment, see no.127, above. ριστ (1.3): the upper part of *rho* is clear in the facsimile in de Ricci, *BSAA* 11 (1909), p.323, but *pi* is printed in *CIJ* ii 1435 and in *CPJ*. A name compounded with Ἀρίστ- should perhaps be restored, or perhaps a part of εὐχαριστῶ, as in *CIJ* 964 (see on 127, above), in which Nonnus also occurs as the name of the father of a dedicant.

Marble fragment. Letter forms: Α Ε λ Ω.

129 (CIJ ii no.1450): Uncertain origin (bought at Cairo): Ptolemaic (?). Plaque; honorific decree.

Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin (before 1st World War).

Text follows D.M. Lewis, *CPJ* iii no.1450, p.144-5 (based on de Ricci's reading).

INSCRIPTIONS

[.....]ΙΙΛΙ[- -] |
 [...] Χελκίου στ[- -] |
 [.... πλή]θους τῶν ἐν τῷ τεμέ[νει - -] |
 [.....το]ῖς τετιμηκό[σιν - -] |
 [.....] αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦδε[- -] ||
 [.....]θεν· ἔδο[ξε - -] |
 [.....σ]τρατηγόν[- -] |
 [.....] χρυσῷ στεφ[άνῳ - -] |
 [.....] ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων(?) - -] |
 [.....]ΙΑΘΑΕΤΩΡ[- -]

.... (son) of Helkias, general (?) of the multitude of those
 in the sacred precinct to those who were honoured to
 him because of this : it seemed good general with
 a gold crown by the kings (?) (?)

T. Reinach, 'Un préfet juif il y a deux mille ans', *REJ* 40 (1900), pp.50-4 (from a squeeze); H. Willrich, 'Der Chelkiasstein', *APF* 1 (1901), p.48-56 (from the stone); S. de Ricci, Review of *APF*, *RevArch* 38 (1901), pp.304-5 (facsimile; from a squeeze); M.L. Strack, 'Inschriften aus ptolemäischer Zeit', *APF* 2 (1903), p.554; J. Oehler, 'Epigraphische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Judentums', *MGWJ* 53 (1909), p.451 no.229; A. Neppi Modona, 'La vita pubblica e privata degli ebrei in Egitto', *Aegyptus* 2 (1921), p.271; 3 (1922), p.24; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.376-8 no.1450; E. Gabba, *Iscrizioni greche e latine* (1958), pp.36-8 no.XI; *CPJ* iii (1964), pp.144-5 no.1450.

H. Willrich, 'Der historische Kern des III Makkabäerbuches', *Hermes* 39 (1904), pp.251-2, note; S. de Ricci, 'Paleography', *JE* ix (1905), p.473; E. Schürer, *Geschichte* iii (1909), pp.42, 132; J. Juster, *Les juifs dans l'empire romain* ii (1914), p.267; L. Fuchs, *Die Juden Aegyptens* (1924), pp.16, 67; M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques* i (1949), p.548; ii (1950), p.1235; P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* ii (1972), p.168 n.336; M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; G. Dellling, 'Biblisch-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten', *BSAC* 22 (1974-5), p.13; A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (1985), pp.61, 125; Schürer revised iii.i (1986), p.48; L.H. Kant, 'Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin', *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987), p.691 n.118; P. Trebilco, *Jewish*

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communities in Asia Minor (1991), p.232 n.36, p.259 n.28.

The name Helkias, corresponding to the Hebrew Hilkiah, is well attested in Egypt (Rokeah in *CPJ* iii, p.195). In 1.2 the translation follows the restoration of σ[ατ]ηγος] proposed by Willrich, presumably from comparison with 1.7. This fragmentary decree in honour of the son of a Helkias appears to describe the body conferring the honour as πληθος (Kasher, p.125); the word could denote a non-Jewish association, but is applied to Jewish communities in Letter of Aristeas 308, 310 (in Alexandria), Acts vi 2 (Jerusalem Christians), and *CIJ* 804 = Lifshitz, *Donateurs* no.89 (Apamea, late 4th century A.D.), cf. רבנים as a term for the community, *IQS* vi 1-2 and elsewhere in Qumran texts (M. Weinfeld, *The organizational pattern...of the Qumran sect* (Fribourg, 1986), pp.14-16). τέμενος (1.3) is the word used for the temple-precinct of Leontopolis by Josephus, *B.J.* vii 430, 434 (Willrich, 'Der Chelkiasstein', p.51), but any connection of the inscription with the family of Helkias, son of the founder of the Leontopolis temple Onias IV (so Willrich (Helkias himself was honoured) and Reinach (his son was honoured)) or with the Jews of Leontopolis (Kasher) is uncertain; see Lewis in *CPJ* iii, p.145; Fraser, ii, p.168, n.336; and Stern, *Greek and Latin authors*, i, no.99, pp.268-70 (on Strabo as quoted on the sons of Onias IV by Josephus, *Ant.* xiii 284-7).

Fragmentary marble plaque. Letter forms: Α Ε Σ Ω. According to de Ricci (1905), the stone comes from Heliopolis, but he gave no further information, and no other writer confirms this.

130 (*CIJ* ii no.1477): Uncertain origin (bought at Gizeh): uncertain date. Stele; epitaph.

Unknown (Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, in 1913).

Text follows S. de Ricci, *RevEp* n.s. 1 (1913) no.5, pp.155-6.

Τεύφιλι | Ἀρσειὼν|ος ἐτελ|εύτησε | ἐτῶν ν' || ἄωρος. εὖ|ψύχι.

ἄωρος (1.6): 1. ἄωρος

Theophilos (?) son (?) of Arseion died at the age of 50, untimely dead. Be of good cheer.

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S. de Ricci, 'Inscriptions grecques d'Égypte conservées à Saint-Petersbourg', *RevEp* n.s. 1 (1913), pp.155-6 no.5 (facsimile; from the stone); *SB* iv (1931), p.9 no.7310; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.396-7 no.1477; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.150 no.1477.

M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123.

De Ricci said nothing about the provenance of the inscription, noting only that it was bought in 1898 at Gizeh; *SB* also gave no provenance. *CIJ* (p.396) attributed it to Tell el-Yehoudieh, apparently because of the name, but Lewis notes that the formulae are unparalleled at Tell el-Yehoudieh, and that there is no good reason to think it comes from there. There are consequently no adequate grounds for dating it. Various forms of the verb *τελευτάω* were commonly used on non-Jewish gravestones, sarcophagi and mummy-labels, and most dated ones are from the 2nd century A.D. or later, but it is also found at Tell el-Yehoudieh (see *Formulae Index*). *εὐψόχι* or *εὐψόχει* was one of the commonest formulae of all on non-Jewish gravestones; *SB* i has no less than 125 examples, and its use is discussed by M. Simon, 'Θάρσει οὐδεις ἀθάνατος', *RHR* 113 (1936), pp.188-206 and C. Spicq, *Notes de lexicographie Néo-Testamentaire* i (Fribourg, 1978), pp.337-8.

The spelling of the name with *Τευ-* rather than *Θεο-* was common in parts of Egypt; *CPJ* has six other examples of *Τεὐφίλος* and only one of *Θεόφιλος*. In Cyrenaica, the preferred spelling was *Θευ-*. C.D. Buck, *The Greek dialects*, p.40, notes *-ευ-* for *-εο-* as a feature of Ionic dialect. *Teuphila*, a feminine form of the name, is found in no.78, above. The apparent mistake with the last letter of the name here could conceal a woman's name rather than a man's, since there is no other indication of the deceased's gender. *O.Edfou* 166 (1st-2nd century A.D.) has *Τευφίλλος* as a woman's name. V.A. Tcherikover (*CPJ* i (1957), p.xix) notes that the name was almost confined to Jews in Hellenistic Egypt, but like other theophoric names it came to be used more widely in the Roman period. The name *Arseion* does not seem to be attested anywhere else. The Jewishness of the inscription is therefore questionable. The deceased is the oldest Egyptian Jew (if really a Jew) to be described as *ἄσπογ* (see no.41 above).

Undecorated sandstone stele, 20 x 15 cm. Letter forms: A € C.

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131: Uncertain origin: 2nd century A.D. or later (?). Stele or plaque; epitaph (?).

Alexandria Museum.

Text follows E. Goodenough, *Jewish symbols* ii, p.63.

Ἰοῦδα.

Judah.

There are symbols below the name (see notes)

E. Goodenough, *Jewish symbols* ii (1958), p.63; iii fig.896 (photograph; from the stone).

This inscription was noticed by Goodenough at the Alexandria Museum, and published by him apparently for the first time; it was either omitted from the earlier published collections of Greek inscriptions in the museum or acquired after their publication. Goodenough stated that there was no information about provenance. The stone has irregular edges, but the symbols (menorah with crossbar and tripod, shofar, lulab) and the name above them are complete. The menorah is extremely elaborate: triangular flames are shown coming from its branches, and above the crossbar (touching it at either end) there is an arc from which 15 short lines radiate outwards, perhaps representing rays. According to Goodenough, this representation is unique. There are clear similarities to no.118, above, where the name Judan was written in Hebrew characters; this stone too probably comes from the wall of a tomb. This Greek form of the name Judah is well documented in Palestine (e.g. *BE* (1946/7) no.218, (1964) no.503; *SEG* xvii 785) and Cyrenaica, and is used in the LXX, but it might also be a genitive from the nominative form Ἰοῦδας (see no.54, above).

Letter forms: A.

132 (Plate XXXI): Uncertain origin (bought at Cairo): 3rd century A.D. or later (?). Stele; epitaph.

Private collection in Cairo.

Text follows G. Wagner and R.G. Coquin, *BIFAO* 70 (1971), p.162.

Ἰωσήφους ἐτῶν | δ' καὶ Πάππος | ἐτῶν γ' | ὁ δὲ Παππίω[νος
ἄωροι{o} || καὶ ἄλυποι. | [*vacat*]

INSCRIPTIONS

ὁ (l.4): l. οἱ

Joseph aged 4 and Pappos aged 3, the two sons of Pappion, untimely dead, and having caused pain to no-one.

G. Wagner and R.G. Coquin, 'Stèles grecques et coptes d'Égypte', *BIFAO* 70 (1971), pp.161-2, pl.XXXIX (photograph; from the stone); J. & L. Robert, *BE* (1974), p.323 no.676.

The inscription is set within a rectangular frame. Guide-lines for six lines were filled, and there is a blank line beneath. The form ὁ for οἱ was widespread from the 1st century A.D., according to Wagner and Coquin, and also occurred in Ptolemaic times. There are no firm grounds for dating the inscription; Wagner and Coquin tentatively suggested 3rd-4th century A.D., and Robert noted the 'gravure tardive'. The first editors thought it might come from Tell el-Yehoudieh, but this is completely speculative. The likelihood of the inscription being Jewish depends mainly on the name Joseph, but Pappos was also much used by Jews in Egypt and Palestine (see no.126, above), and there are two other Egyptian Jews named Pappion in inscriptions (nos.37, 89, above).

The combination of the epithets ἀλυπος and ἄωρος also occurs in nos. 59, 70, 78 and 89, above, in association with other adjectives; Wagner and Coquin cite some non-Jewish examples. They suggest that the simultaneous deaths were due to something exceptional such as an epidemic, but it is not even clear that the deaths were simultaneous, only that they were commemorated together.

Incomplete limestone stele, 34 x 36 cm., recessed field in a frame 25 x 22 cm., guide-lines (one unused). Letter forms: Α Ε C Ω.

133 (*CIJ* ii no.1536): Uncertain origin: 2nd century A.D. or later (?). Mummy label; Hebrew.

Cairo Museum.

Text follows D.M. Lewis, *CPJ* iii no.1536, p.165, with verso indicated by J. Euting, *Florilegium M. de Vogüé*, pp.235-6.

[*Recto*]: סימורה הכשרה

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שלום על משכבה

נשמתה לחיי עולם

{Verso}: סימורה

שלום (1.3): Euting

Recto: Sitorah, the worthy. Peace on her resting place! May her soul have eternal life! *Verso*: Sitorah.

There is a menorah on each side of the label

J. Euting, 'Notulae epigraphicae', *Florilegium M. de Vogüé* (1909), pp.235-6; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.443-4 no.1536 (facsimile); *CPJ* i (1957), p.108 n.50; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.165 no.1536.

E. Dinkler, 'Schalom – eirene – pax', *RivAC* 50 (1974), p.128 n.28; U. Fischer, *Eschatologie und Jenseitserwartung* (1978), pp.217, 222, 229 n.53; H.C.C. Cavallin, 'Leben nach dem Tode im Spätjudentum', *ANRW* II.19.1 (1979), p.322 n.582; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.99, p.103 no.9.

According to Euting, the Cairo Museum received this wooden mummy label from Prof. Spiegelberg. *CIJ* labels it 'provenance inconnue en Moyen-Égypte', but this is not stated by Euting, and there is no indication of any other source of information used by *CIJ*. There is a menorah on each side with crossbar and tripod. Euting thought that the writing was from the 1st or 2nd century A.D., and noted that this was the first evidence for Jews practising mummification at that time; in fact, it is the only apparently Jewish mummy-label from Egypt. *CIJ* followed this dating, and Tcherikover in *CPJ* i classed it as presumably 2nd century. The menorahs imply a date after A.D.70, but the use of the writing for dating is suspect in view of the lack of securely dated Hebrew from Egypt in this period. Euting thought the name appeared more Greek than Hebrew, but suggested it might be a mistake for סתורה, a form of Esther; Dinkler regards it as a hypocoristic form of that name. An alternative explanation is that it is the Greek name Satyra (there are several non-Jewish examples in Foraboschi's *Onomasticon*) put into Hebrew characters. Of the range of meanings for כָּשָׁר listed by Jastrow, *Dictionary*, pp.677-8, the most appropriate in this context are 'worthy, honest, of noble conduct': he cites a passage from y Yoma III 41b (ll.3-4) where it is applied to 'the worthiest of every generation'. In Esther viii 5, it

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describes Esther's proposal: 'if the thing seem right before the king'. Of the standard Greek epithets, *χρηστός* seems to be the nearest parallel. The first of the two Hebrew formulae is found frequently in Italy, and corresponds to ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἢ κοίμησις (cf. no.120, above). The second also occurs in Hebrew in epitaphs from Italy and Spain (*CIJ* 569, 661).

134: Uncertain origin (bought at Cairo): 4th–5th century A.D. Incense burner.

Brooklyn Museum, New York.

Text follows K. Herbert, *Greek and Latin inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum* no.32, p.61.

menorah ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς Αὐξανόντος | εὐλογα, Κ(ύρι)ε, χαριτόν
ΟΞΤΑ | καὶ ΑΝ [*vacat*]

On behalf of a vow of Auxanon. Blessed, O Lord, (thou who art) gracious (?) and

Louvre (Musée des Arts Decoratifs), *Exposition internationale d'art byzantine* (1931), p.131 no.413; Brooklyn Museum, *Pagan and Christian Egypt* (1941), no.85; J.D. Cooney, *Late Egyptian and Coptic art* (1943), p.19, pl.31-2; Walters Art Gallery, *Early Christian and Byzantine art* (1947), no.271, pl.XLIII; K. Herbert, *Greek and Latin inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum* (1972), pp.61-3 no.32, pl.XIX (photograph; from the original); *SB* xii (1976), p.196 no.11100.

A. Piankoff, Review of *Late Egyptian and Coptic art*, *BSAC* 11 (1945), p.202; A. Piankoff, Review of *Early Christian and Byzantine art*, *BSAC* 12 (1947), pp.164-5.

This bronze incense-burner (28.3 x 14.0 cm) has been published several times for artistic reasons, but it also has an important inscription in punchwork on the exterior of the bowl. On the rim of the bowl is a register of openwork rings, each surmounted by a conventionalized dove. The Jewish nature of the object is indicated by the menorah. Herbert takes ll.2-3 to be an attempt to render a Hebrew prayer into Greek by someone with a very imperfect knowledge of Greek; it seems impossible to make sense of the words grammatically, and the translation is far from sure. Compare the 18 Benedictions, VI: 'Blessed art thou, O Lord, who art gracious and dost abundantly forgive'; (cf. Schürer revised, ii, p.457). Such a Jewish prayer

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could also have been composed in Greek *ab initio*; see nos.19, 121, above, on εὐλογία, εὐλογεῖν. The letter-forms are not legible from the published photograph. The name Auxanon is mainly attested in Asia Minor (e.g. *SEG* xxvi no.1357; xxviii nos.1058, 1206; xxxi nos.1148, 1268, 1664), but is also found on a Jewish gold-glass from Rome (*CIJ* i² no.732a). It might be regarded as 'he who gives the increase', corresponding to the Hebrew Joseph (Herbert, p.62); M. Cassuto, 'La corrispondenza tra nomi ebraici e greci nell'onomastica giudaica', *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana* 2 (1930), p.224, makes it correspond to Ephraim and derive from the root מרה. It is also possible that χαριτον or χαριτονος should be read as another name. Num. xvi 6-7 and Ezek. viii 11 describe censers being used for incense in Jewish worship; in II Chron. xxvi 19, a man is punished for incorrect use. M. Avi-Yonah, *Illustrated world of the Bible library* v (Jerusalem, 1961), p.281, discusses and illustrates the shovel type of incense-burner, which was sometimes depicted in the mosaic floors of synagogues.

APPENDIX 1: INSCRIPTIONS NOT CONSIDERED TO BE JEWISH

135 (CIJ ii no.1445): Athribis (Benha): uncertain date. Plaque; nature of inscription uncertain.

Unknown.

Text follows S. Reinach, *REJ* 17 (1888), p.236 (majuscule text; see no.27), as transcribed by D.M. Lewis, *CPJ* iii no.1445, p.143.

οἱ ἐκ τῆς [- - -] | πωτικῆς [- - -] | ὁδὸν οὐκ [- - -]
| στήλην [- - -] | κη· τοσ[- - -] | σιομ[- - -]

πωτικῆς (1.2): *CIJ* [σπα]πωτικῆς

Those from the road

S. Reinach, 'La communauté juive d'Athribis', *REJ* 17 (1888), pp.235-8; S. Reinach, 'La communauté juive d'Athribis dans la Basse-Égypte', *BCH* 13 (1889), p.179 (identical with the foregoing apart from additional introductory paragraphs in *REJ*); *CIJ* ii (1952), p.371 no.1445; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.143 no.1445; A. Kasher, 'Three Jewish communities of Lower Egypt', *SCIsr* 2 (1975), p.117.

A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (1985), p.119.

So little can be established for certain about this inscription that it seems hazardous to classify it as Jewish. Because it was first published (see 27, above) with two Jewish inscriptions from Athribis, it has hitherto been treated as Jewish, but there is no information about whether the three stones were found together. Kasher accepts the *CIJ* restoration and connects it with the mention of police in no.21 as suggesting the military character of the Jewish settlement, but there is nothing either in the surviving text or in the restoration of an evidently Jewish nature.

Marble plaque. Letter forms: Ε Σ Ω.

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136 (CIJ ii no.1448): Cyzicus, Asia Minor: 3rd century A.D. (second half) (?). Bronze or copper amulet.

Unknown.

Text follows *CIJ* ii no.1448, pp.373-4.

[*Obverse: Around the field*]: Μιχαήλ, Γαβριήλ, Ουριήλ,
'Ραφαήλ διαφύλαξον τὸν φοροῦντα.

[*In the field*]: ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος. RPSS. ΠΙΠΙ

[*Reverse: Around the field*]: ἄγγελος Ἀρααφ. φεύγε μεμνημένη,
Σολομών σε δώκι.

Obverse: Michael, Gabriel, Ouriel, Raphael, guard the
bearer. Holy, holy, holy

Reverse: Angel Araaph. Fly, hated woman ! Solomon
pursues you !

A. Sorlin-Dorligny, 'Phylactère alexandrin contre les épistaxis', *REG* 4 (1891),
pp.287-96 (facsimile; from the original); *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.373-4 no.1448.

CPJ iii (1964), p.144 no.1448.

The obverse depicts a woman thrown down by a lion, busts of the Sun and Moon gods with a torch in front of each, and a vertical eye. Sorlin-Dorligny read three letters S, although from his facsimile the third seems more likely to be part of the lion's mane, and argued that they represented the numeral 6 and together stood for 666, 'the number of the Beast'. The reverse shows the same woman thrown down by a spear-thrust from a galloping horseman preceded by an angel, each with a star. Sorlin-Dorligny explained the text by making μεμνημένη agree with ἄγγελος and deriving ἀρααφ from ἡρῆ, 'nose-bleed'; the woman is supposed to represent the malady, which the amulet is intended to ward off. The association with Egypt was due to a suggested provenance from 'magiciens et empiriques juifs, syriens et égyptiens sortis de l'École d'Alexandrie', and the belief that the amulet is Jewish rather than Christian rested on interpreting ΠΙΠΙ as an attempt to put שמש into Greek characters; in fact, the mark which has been read as the first *pi* is on the opposite side from the other three letters. The speculative nature of the arguments hardly requires further comment.

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137 (CIJ ii no.1478): Terenuthis (Kom Abu Billu): 2nd century A.D. (?). Limestone stele; epitaph.

Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg.

Text follows D.M. Lewis, *CPJ* iii no.1478, p.150 (based on de Ricci's reading), with an additional restoration by F. Bilabel, *SB* iv no.7311.

[E]ρρήνη(ι) ἡ καὶ Σαρα(π)οῦ(ς) | ἄωρος· <ὥς> ἐτῶν κς'. | [ἔτους
.. Φαρ]μ[ο]ῦθ(ι) ις'.

<ὥς> (l.2) for ΣΙ on the stone

[ἔτους ..] (l.3) is suggested only by *SB*, but the three letters Φαρ alone would not be enough to fill the gap indicated in the facsimile

Eirene also called Sarapous, untimely dead, about 26 years old. In the .. year, Pharmouthi 16.

S. de Ricci, 'Inscriptions grecques d'Égypte conservées à Saint-Petersbourg', *RevEp* n.s. 1 (1913), p.155-6 no.6 (facsimile; from the stone); *SB* iv (1931), p.9 no.7311; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.397 no.1478; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.150 no.1478.

M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.95 no.80, p.100, p.127 no.759.

This inscription was bought at Gizeh in 1898 with nos.66, 130 and 138. The left side is broken off below l.2, but l.3 appears from de Ricci's facsimile to be the final line. The field shows a praying woman with her arms raised in front of her face, which would be unparalleled in Jewish inscriptions. It should also be noted that the inscription does not come from Tell el-Yehoudieh (as stated in *CIJ*) but the *orans* figure is typical of stelae from Kom Abu Billu. The name Eirene was used by Greeks as much as Jews (see Lewis in *CPJ*, ad loc.), and a Jew who used two names might be expected to have a Hebrew name for one of them. In all, there is no reason to think that the inscription is Jewish; the inclusion of this and no.138 in *CIJ* seems to have arisen from a failure to note the provenance given by de Ricci.

Another stele from the same site which has a possibly Jewish origin was published by J. Zeidler, 'Zwei Terenuthis-Stelen aus dem Kunsthandel', *Göttinger Miszellen* 49 (1981), pp.91-4: it shows a young woman with raised arms in the 'orans' position, with a jackal on either side, and the name ΣΑΡΑ

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underneath. Zeidler dates the stele to the second half of the 2nd century A.D., and interprets the name as Σάρα, which later became common among Christians in Egypt. *CPJ* 26, of 172/1 B.C., has a reference to a Jewish woman named Σάρα, and there are also a number of occurrences of Σάρρα in the *CPJ* prosopography, including 41 and 378 (which uses the abbreviation Σαρ) which have no indications of Jewishness apart from the name. There is no evidence of Jewishness when the name is used as a matronymic in *P.Col.* 1 recto 1a (A.D.134/5; the husband and son both have Egyptian names), and the abbreviation ΣΑΡΑ could apply to either a man or a woman in *BGU* vii 1599 col.IIb (reign of Nero). F. Vattioni, 'I semiti nell'epigrafia cirenaica', *SCO* 37 (1987), pp.539-40, notes that both Σάρα and Σάρρα occurred in Punic and Phoenician too. In view of the lack of evidence for Jews at Terenuthis, the conventionally pagan depiction of the deceased, and the doubt about the significance of the name, it seems unlikely that this is a Jewish inscription.

138 (*CIJ* ii no.1479): Terenuthis (Kom Abu Billu): uncertain date. Limestone stele; epitaph.

Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg.

Text follows D.M. Lewis, *CPJ* iii no.1479, p.150 (based on de Ricci's reading).

Εὐ[.....]λος ἄωρος ὥς ἐτῶν ε'(?). | Ε[.....]ς ἄωρος ὥς ἐτῶν πέν|τε.

ε' (l.1): *CIJ* omits letter; de Ricci's majuscule text shows another unclear letter, and his minuscule text is ἐτῶν [...]; *SB* reads it as ἐτῶν εζ, with Z written as =

Eu.....los, untimely dead, about 5(?) years old. E..... untimely dead, about five years old.

S. de Ricci, 'Inscriptions grecques d'Égypte conservées à Saint-Petersbourg', *RevEp* n.s. 1 (1913), p.156 no.7 (facsimile; from the stone); *SB* iv (1931), p.9 no.7312; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.397 no.1479; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.150 no.1479.

M. Stern, 'The Jewish Diaspora', in Safrai and Stern i (1974), p.123; G. Mayer, *Die jüdische Frau in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike* (1987), p.100.

The facsimile shows guide-lines, including an unused one below the text; l.3 has only two letters at the extreme right. F. Bilabel in *SB* suggested that the

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name in l.1 might be Εὐπ[όλ]εμος. The inscription was bought at Gizeh (see no.137). The field shows two praying figures (cf.no.137), and it thus appears to fit into the Kom Abu Billu series. Like no.137, it seems to have been misinterpreted by *CIJ*, and, as Lewis, notes, 'there is no reason whatever' to suppose that it is Jewish.

139 (CPJ iii no.1538a): Apollinopolis Magna (Edfu): uncertain date.
Nature of inscription uncertain.

Unknown.

Text follows D.M. Lewis, *CPJ* iii no.1538a, p.166 (based on Manteuffel's reading), with additional indications of lost text.

[- - -] |
[- -]ινιε πε[- -] |
[- -]ευχη[- -] |
[- - -]

[- -]ευχη (l.3): Manteuffel [προσ]ευχη

J. Manteuffel, 'Les papyrus et les ostraca grecs', *Fouilles Franco-Polonaises* iii (1939), p.363 fragm. 1, pl. LII; *CPJ* ii (1964), p.166 no.1538a.

P.M. Fraser, 'Greek inscriptions 1952-3', *JEA* 40 (1954), p.125 no.9.

This fragmentary inscription was found in the ruins of a house in the northern sector of Apollinopolis Magna, and Manteuffel suggested the restoration of the word προσευχή. There are nine Jewish inscriptions from the town belonging to the pre-Ptolemaic period (W. Kornfeld, 'Jüdisch-aramäische Grabinschriften aus Edfu'), and the substantial Jewish community left a large number of papyri and ostraca from the 2nd century B.C. to 2nd century A.D., but the area it inhabited was in the south of the town. Thus the restoration, which would in any case be doubtful in view of the frequency of the word εὐχή in Egyptian inscriptions, has no convincing support. Manteuffel thought that the form of the letter *pi*, with the right-hand vertical stroke shorter and slightly rounded, suggested a date of the 4th century B.C., but this too seems to be an argument based on totally inadequate evidence. The dating was rejected by Fraser, and both the dating and the restoration by Lewis, who nevertheless added the inscription to his

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collection in *CPJ*.

140 (Plate XXXII; *CPJ* iii no.1539a): Uncertain origin: uncertain date. Small terracotta column.

Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest.

Text follows D.M. Lewis, *CPJ* iii no.1539a, p.166, (based on Scheiber's reading), with additional indications of doubtful letters.

[first side] εἰς θεός

[second side] ATEOO

[third side] lulab

[fourth side] ὁ β̄ ⲟⲛⲑⲉ̄ⲱⲛ

l.4: OEHΘΩN on the stone

God is one the helper.

A. Scheiber, 'The mezuzah of the Egyptological collection', *JQR* 47 (1957-8), pp.6-12 (photographs; from the original); B.M. Leiser, 'The 'mezuzah' column in Hungary's Egyptological collection', *JQR* 50 (1960), pp.365-70; *CPJ* iii (1964), p.166 no.1539a.

Z. Oroszlán & A. Dobrovits, *Az egyiptomi gyűjtemény [The Egyptian collection]* (1939), pp.120-1 no.46, p.128; J.G. Szilágyi, *Antik művészet. A Szépművészeti Múzeum kiállítása [The art of antiquity, exhibition at the Museum of Fine Arts]* (1988), p.124.

The possibility that this small terracotta column (10.5 x 2.9 cm., weighing 127 gr.) was a forerunner or early form of the mezuzah was first suggested by I.T. Waldapfel, quoted by Oroszlán & Dobrovits; it was published in English, without acknowledgement, by Scheiber. The column has four inscribed sides, and is pierced with a hole at one end. εἰς θεός is clearly legible on one side, and what appears to be ὁ β̄ ⲟⲛⲑⲉ̄ⲱⲛ on another: *beta* is written as E, and *omega* could be a distorted *omicron*. Side 3 has a motif which Scheiber interpreted as a lulab, although it might also represent an ear of wheat; even if it is a palm, it need not be Jewish, as Leiser noted. Side 2 has five apparently unconnected letters; the first could also be read as *beta*. Scheiber interpreted it as ⲉϣⲓⲟϥ, but as no more than two letters

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definitely match this reading, there is little to support it. It might be a magical word, a divine name or an abbreviation. The formula $\epsilon\lambda\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma\ \delta\ \beta\omicron\eta\theta\omega\nu$ could be Jewish (cf. Lifshitz, *Donateurs* no.61, from Dmer in Syria), but in Egypt it seems to occur only in Christian contexts, e.g. *SB* i 1596, a Byzantine epitaph from Antinoopolis; iii 6834, an inscription referring to a monastery from the Thebaid; in i 159, the formula is followed by a dedication in another hand to Asklepios and other gods, and there are many examples of $\epsilon\lambda\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$ applied to pagan divinities. The various usages are discussed by E. Peterson, *E $\lambda\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$* (1926). The hole in the object might be for a nail to attach it to a wall or doorpost, but in that case Leiser pointed out that one side should have been left blank; he suggested that it was instead meant to be worn as a pendant. Another possibility, suggested by Dr N. de Lange, is that the object might be a loom-weight: inscribed loom-weights are known from elsewhere, although those found in Egypt (where they are not common, as the two-beam vertical loom which did not need weights was in general use) are mainly plain, made from clay or stone. See further A.C. Mace, 'Loom weights in Egypt', *Ancient Egypt* 3 (1922), pp.75-6; H. Ling Roth, *Ancient Egyptian and Greek looms* (2nd ed., Halifax, 1951); M. Hoffmann, *The warp-weighted loom* (*Studia Norvegica* 14 (1964)).

The dating is totally uncertain. Lewis says it is no earlier than the early Roman period, but its interpretation as Jewish needs a pre-Christian date to support it. It is much more likely that the object is a Coptic amulet from late antiquity or even the early middle ages.

We are very grateful to Peter Hubai of the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, for the information he provided about the inscription, and the explanations he suggested.

APPENDIX 2: INSCRIPTIONS FROM OUTSIDE EGYPT

141: Rome: 2nd century A.D. (?). Epitaph; metrical; bilingual (Greek and Latin).

Unknown.

Text follows G.H.R. Horsley, *New documents iv* (1987), no.114 (based on the *IG* text).

[ἐτῶν δ]εχοκτῶ μονογενῇ καὶ παρθένον
[Θεοδο]σίαν ἔθαψε Δωρόθεος πατήρ,
[ἦν μ]ελλόνυμφον Τυβὶ μηνὸς εἰκάδι
[εἶλες, π]ονηρὲ δαίμων, ὃς τὸν ἔμπαλιν
[οἶ νόσ]τον οὐκ ἔκλωσας, ὥσπερ ἤλπισε. 5

[όκτω]καιδεξέτης, ἔτι παρθένος οἰογένεια
[Θεο]δοσία κεῖται, Δωροθέου θυγάτηρ.
[ἀλλ' ὦ ν]ηλεόθυμε Χάρον, τί σε τόσσον ἐνηῆς
[τέ]⟨ρ⟩ψε λιποῦσα πατρὶ πένθος ἀπειρέσιον;

[*Theodosia quae et*] *Kalypso ann. XVIII.* 10

[τέ]⟨ρ⟩ψε (l.9) for ΥΨΕ in *IG* majuscule text

Dorotheus her father buried Theodosia, aged eighteen, his only child and a virgin. On the twentieth day of the month Tybi you took her, evil Power, when she was about to be married, and you did not destine for her a journey back home, as she had hoped.

Eighteen years old, still a virgin, an only child, Theodosia daughter of Dorotheus lies (here). But O pitiless Charon, why did she in her gentleness so much delight you, leaving to her father grief unbounded ?

Theodosia also called Kalypso, aged 18.

G. Kaibel, *EG* (1878), no.566; *IG* xiv (1890), p.422 no.1648 (combining various readings of two fragments); *IGRR* i (1911) p.96 no.263; W. Peek, *GV*

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(1955), p.619 no.1976; L. Moretti, *Inscriptiones graecae urbis Romae* (1979), pp.89-91 no.1231 (photograph of copy); G.H.R. Horsley, *New documents* iv (1987), pp.221-9 no.114.

J. Carcopino, *Aspects mystiques de la Rome païenne* (1941), pp.309-10 n.2.

Horsley dates the inscription to the 'imperial period'; Peek suggested 2nd century A.D., although apparently without any firm grounds. The inscription is now lost, and all editions are based ultimately on the copies of two fragments used by IG. The use of an Egyptian month shows that the family came from Egypt, and their names suggest (but do not prove) that they were Jewish. Moretti's suggestion that ll.4-5 refer to Jewish faith in resurrection seems somewhat far-fetched, however. The restoration of the woman's name as Theodosia is almost certain, although the form Theudusia may have been used. For epitaphs from Egypt consisting of more than one epigram, see E. Bernand, *IM*, nos.22, 33, 76, 97; in the last (Hermoupolis Magna, 2nd century A.D.) iambics are followed by two elegiac couplets, as here. A Ptolemaic literary example (Peek, *GV* no.1968), also in these two metres, is discussed with comments on the genre by Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, i, pp.611-2, and nn.426-9. The 'Power' (δύμω, 'divinity' or 'spirit', l.5) addressed in the masculine is perhaps Hades, personified as in no.31, l.8, above (cf. no.38, l.8, and *Wisd.* i 14); Charon (l.8) does not appear in the otherwise comparably mythological nos.31 (incomplete) and 38.

142 (*CIJ* i no.644): Milan: 5th century A.D. (?). Marble plaque; epitaph; bilingual (Hebrew and Latin).

St Ambrose Basilica, Milan.

Text follows *CIJ* i no.644.

יְהוֹסֵף | *hic requiesc[et] | in pace b(onae) m(emoriae) I[os]es*
Alexandinus | qui vixit ann[os] plus minus | [- -]

l.2: l. *requiescit*, l.4: l. *Alexandrinus*, l.5: l. *vixit*, l.6: l. *minus*

Peace. Here lies in peace Joses the Alexandrian, of good memory, who lived more or less .. years.

There is a menorah in l.1 (see notes)

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A.J. Letronne, *Recueil des inscriptions* ii (1848), p.252; E. Le Blant & E. Renan, 'Sur une inscription trilingue découverte à Tortose', *RevArch* (1860.II), p.348 n.1; *CIL* v (1872), no.6294 (from the stone); V. Forcella & E. Seletti, *Iscrizioni cristiane in Milano anteriori al IX secolo* i (1897), p.70 no.76 (from the stone); J. Oehler, 'Epigraphische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Judentums', *MGWJ* 53 (1909), p.448 no.201; E. Diehl, *Inscriptiones latinae christianae veteres* ii (1927), p.501 no.4955; H. Leclercq, 'Judaïsme', *DACL* viii.i (1928), cols.69, 218; *CIJ* i (1936), pp.461-2 no.644 (photograph).

There is a menorah with crossbar and tripod in the centre of l.1. The reading of the name as Ioses was adopted by Frey on the suggestion of Angelo Silvagni; Mommsen proposed D[iogen]es and Forcella & Seletti [Moys]es, but these names would only fit with difficulty into the available space. Milan is the furthest place from Egypt to provide epigraphic evidence for an Egyptian Jew.

143: Berea, Macedonia, but origin uncertain: 5th century A.D. (?).
Plaque; epitaph.

Byzantine Collection, Berea.

Text follows D. Feissel, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes de Macédoine*, *BCH* suppl.viii no.294, p.234.

μημούρηων | Ἰωσήs Ἀλεξάνδρου(ς) | υἱὸς Παριγορί|ου.

l.1: l. μημόριον

l.2: l. Ἀλεξανδρέως; Orlandos [Ἰ]ωάν[ν]ος καὶ Ἀδρέου; Robert (from Orlandos' photograph), *CIJ*² Ἀνδρέου

l.3: l. υἱοῦ

Memorial of Ioses the Alexandrian, son of Parigorius.

There are symbols below the text (see notes)

A.K. Orlandos, 'Βερούας ἐπιγραφὰὶ ἀνέκδοτοι', *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον* 2 (1916), p.163, pl.15 no.32 (photograph; from the stone); *CIJ* i² (1975), pp.77-8 no.694a; D. Feissel, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes de Macédoine du III^e au VI^e siècle*, *BCH* suppl.viii (1983), p.243 no.294, pl.LXV (photograph; from the stone).

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L. Robert, *Hellenica* iii (1946), pp.104-5.

The inscription has a nine-branched menorah, ethrog, shofar and lulab. Feissel dates it tentatively to the 5th century A.D. His reading of Ἀλεξαδρεὺς is a new interpretation of l.2: the letters AE are written over ΞΑΔ, and the final Σ is omitted. The deceased has an obviously Jewish name, and his father's name Parigorius (which corresponds to the Hebrew Menachem) was used mainly if not exclusively by Jews (*CIJ* i 497, ii 944-5; Beth She'arim nos.31, 61, 83, 208).

Grey marble plaque, 52 x 30 cm., broken at the base and (after 1916) top right corner.

144 (*CIJ* i no.696): Phthiotic Thebes, Thessaly: uncertain date. Epitaph.

Archeological Museum, Almiros.

Text follows *CIJ* i no.696, with some of Schwabe's revisions for the reverse.

[*Recto*]: [μ]νημα Εὐσεβίου Ἀ|[λ]εξανδρ|[έως] καὶ Θεο|[δώρας]
γ|[υ]ναικὸς αὐ|[τοῦ].

[*Verso*]: shofar menorah lulab | ἐνορῶ[ντος] | θεοῦ. [τῷ
λαῷ] | χ[αίρειν].

Memorial of Eusebius the Alexandrian and of Theodora his wife.

God is watching. Farewell to the people.

A. Spyridakes, *Θορῆ* 4 (1901), p.37 no.2; N. Bees, 'Πεντήκοντα Χριστιανικῶν καὶ Βυζαντινικῶν ἐπιγραφῶν νέαι ἀναγνώσεις', *Ἑφήμερις Ἀρχαιολογική* (1911), p.105 no.40 (facsimile); E. Peterson, *Εἰς θεός* (1926), p.279; *CIJ* i (1936), pp.508-9 no.696; *CIJ* i² (1975), p.79.

M. Schwabe, Review of *CIJ* i, *Qiryath Sepher* 14 (1938), p.512; L. Robert, *Hellenica* iii (1946), p.103.

Bees, followed by Frey, read *iota* and *kappa* on either side of a menorah as the first line of the reverse, and restored [Ε]κ[ά]ν | ἐνορῶ[ντος] | θεοῦ. However, Schwabe, using a squeeze sent to him by Iannopulos, saw that the

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'letters' were really a shofar and a lulab. From *chi* visible in another line of the squeeze he restored the τῷ λαῷ χαίρειν formula which was much used by the Thessalian Jews, but his restoration of the previous lines as 'Ενορῶ[τος φιλο]θεοῦ is very questionable, and it seems preferable to follow the earlier restoration there, treating the phrase ἐνορῶντος θεοῦ as a genitive absolute.

145 (*CIJ* ii no.902): Jaffa; necropolis: 2nd–4th century A.D. Epitaph. University of Oslo, Ethnographic Museum.

Text follows *CIJ* ii no.902.

Ἀββομαρῖ υἱοῦ Ἀᾶ | Λευεῖτης | Βαβέλῃς | ἀρτοκό[που].

(Tomb) of Abbomarīs son of Aha, Levite of Babylon, baker.

J. Euting, 'Epigraphische Miszellen', *SPAW* (1885), p.684 no.72; C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological researches 1873-4* (1896) ii, pp.141-3 no.3; J. Oehler, 'Epigraphische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Judentums', *MGWJ* 53 (1909), p.295 no.13; S. Klein, *Jüdisch-palästinisches Corpus Inscriptionum* (1920), p.44 no.120; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.125 no.902 (facsimile); V.A. Tcherikover, *The Jews in Egypt* (1963), p.23 n.34.

The names are both Aramaic in a Greek form: Ἀᾶ from אהא, which was common in Palestine and Babylon, and Ἀββομαρῖς from אבמארס or אבמרס. According to Clermont-Ganneau, followed by *CIJ*, Βαβέλῃς is likely to refer to Babylon in Egypt, the future Cairo, but Tcherikover notes that there is no proof for this opinion.

Marble slab, 80 x 54 cm., with the inscription in a frame shaped like a *tabula ansata*.

146 (*CIJ* ii no.918): Jaffa; necropolis: 2nd–4th century A.D. Epitaph. Unknown.

Text follows *CIJ* ii no.918.

Ἡζικία υἱῷ | Ἰσᾶ φροντισ|τὶ Ἀλεξανδ|ρίας.

To Hezekiah son of Isa, *phrontistes* of Alexandria.

C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Revue Critique* n.s.15 (1883), p.142 n.1; C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological researches 1873-4* (1896) ii pp.133-7 no.1 (facsimile);

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CIJ ii (1952), p.131 no.918.

C. Clermont-Ganneau, *PEFQS* (1874), p.5; C. Clermont-Ganneau, 'La nécropole juive de Monteverde', *RevArch* (1920), p.365 n.3.

Clermont-Ganneau bought this marble titulus (24 x 26 cm.) for the Palestine Exploration Fund in 1874. It is ornamented with a menorah and two lulabs. It is not clear if Hezekiah is to be understood as serving as *phrontistes* at Alexandria or elsewhere. L. Robert, *Berytus* 16 (1966), pp.35-6, regards Isa as the genitive of 'Isās and derives it from Isis, but it has otherwise been assumed to be a form of Isaac.

147 (*CIJ* ii no.920): Jaffa; necropolis: 5th century A.D. (?). Epitaph; bilingual (Greek and Hebrew).

Unknown.

Text follows *CIJ* ii no.920.

Θανοῦμ υἱὸς | Σίμωνος ἐν|γόνιν Βενια|μὴν τοῦ κεν|τηναρίου τῆς
Παρεμβολῆς. | 𐤄𐤓𐤁

ἐγγόνιν (11.2-3): 1. ἑγγονος

Thanoum son of Simon, grandson of Benjamin the *centenarius* of Parembolē. Peace.

C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Revue Critique* n.s.15 (1883), p.143 n.1; J. Euting, 'Epigraphische Miszellen', *SPAW* (1885), p.682 no.57; C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological researches 1873-4* (1896) ii, pp.137-41 (photograph); J. Oehler, 'Epigraphische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Judentums', *MGWJ* 53 (1909), p.295 no.12; S. Klein, *Jüdisch-palästinisches Corpus Inscriptionum* (1920), p.51 no.155; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.132 no.920.

The marble titulus (27 x 28 cm.) comes from the Jaffa necropolis; Euting recorded it as being in the possession of the Russian archimandrite in Jerusalem. The deceased's name is the Greek form of the Hebrew תנחום. His grandfather served as *centenarius*, but Jews were prohibited from enlisting in the *militia* after 418 (C.Theo. xvi 8.24); hence the dating to the second half of the 5th century suggested by Clermont-Ganneau. There are references to several places called Parembolē ('camp') in Egypt, but this is

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probably the one just south of Syene on the upper Nile, mentioned as a *statio* in the Antonine Itinerary 161W (see H. Kees, *RE* xviii.4 (1949), s.v. Parembolē).

148 (CIJ ii no.928): Jaffa; necropolis: 2nd–4th century A.D. Plaque or stele; epitaph.

Unknown (formerly von Ustinow collection).

Text follows *CIJ* ii no.928.

Ἰούστος Ῥωβὴ | Ἀλεξανδρ[έ]ς γρυτοπ[ί]λ[ω]λου.

ll.2-3: 1. Ἀλεξανδρεὺς

Justus, son of Reuben, Alexandrian, rag-dealer.

M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* i (1900-2), p.313 no.154; C. Clermont-Ganneau, *RAO* iv (1901), pp.147-8; S. Klein, *Jüdisch-palästinisches Corpus Inscriptionum* (1920), pp.47-8 no.135; *CIJ* ii (1952), no.928.

J. & L. Robert, *BE* (1952), p.172 no.139; L. Robert, *Hellenica* xi-xii (1960), pp.422-3; L. Robert, *Berytus* 16 (1966), p.36 n.17; J. Reynolds & R. Tannenbaum, *Jews and godfearers at Aphrodisias* (1987), p.117.

The deceased man had a Latin name much used by Jews, and his father's name is a genitive form of Ῥωβῆς, a variant of the usual Ῥουβή. The nature of the employment of Reuben (if the genitive ending of the final word is correct) or of Justus is uncertain; it is an occupation of low status apparently concerned with rags or second-hand clothes, which also occurs as the designation of a Jew at Aphrodisias (Reynolds & Tannenbaum). The stone was in the von Ustinow collection at Jaffa, but it is unclear what happened to it when the collection was broken up after the First World War.

149 (CIJ ii no.930): Jaffa; necropolis: 2nd–4th century A.D. Plaque; epitaph; bilingual (Greek and Hebrew).

Unknown (formerly von Ustinow collection).

Text follows *CIJ* ii no.930.

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Ἰσὰ υἱοῦ Λαζάρου | ἱερέος (Ἑ)γυπ(τί)ο(υ). | Εἰρήνη. 707

(Ἑ)γυπ(τί)ο(υ) (l.2): ΕΓΥΠΙΟ on the stone; l. Αἰγυπτίου

(Tomb of) Isa, son of Lazarus the priest, of Egypt. Peace.
Lazarus.

H. Vincent, 'Deux inscriptions de la nécropole juive de Jaffa', *RB* (1912), p.116 (facsimile, provided by Baron von Ustinow); S. Klein, *Jüdisch-palästinisches Corpus Inscriptionum* (1920), p.48 no.137; H. Leclercq, 'Judaïsme', *DACL* viii.1 (1928), col.240, fig.6392; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.136 no.930 (facsimile).

B. Brooten, *Women leaders in the ancient synagogue* (1982), p.97 n.73.

The inscription is written on a triangular marble plaque 32 cm. wide and 16 cm. at its highest; it was presumably part of the collection of Baron von Ustinow, who provided Vincent's information. Vincent's restoration of Ἑγυπτίου was only proposed 'faute de mieux' and must be regarded as questionable; he suggested that the middle bar of the initial *epsilon* was erroneously omitted, the letter written Π was a ligature of *pi* and *tau*, and the final *upsilon* was left out through lack of space.

150 (*CIJ* ii no.934): Jaffa; necropolis: 2nd–4th century A.D. Epitaph; bilingual (Greek and Hebrew).

Unknown (formerly Russian Convent at Jaffa).

Text follows *CIJ* ii no.934.

μνημα | Κυρίλλου | καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου, | Ἀλεξανδρέων. | 207

Memorial of Cyril and Alexander, Alexandrians. Peace.

J. Euting, 'Epigraphische Miszellen', *SPAW* (1885), p.681 no.53; J. Oehler, 'Epigraphische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Judentums', *MGWJ* 53 (1909), p.295 no.9; S. Klein, *Jüdisch-palästinisches Corpus Inscriptionum* (1920), p.49 no.141; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.138 no.934.

C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological researches in Palestine 1873–4* (1896) ii, p.136.

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Euting recorded the stone as being in the Russian convent at Jaffa. The form of the epitaph suggests (but does not prove) that the deceased men were brothers.

A fragmentary Hebrew inscription from Jaffa published as *CIJ* ii no.895 (formerly in the von Ustinow collection, now in the Ethnographic Museum at Oslo) refers to someone who may be Alexandrian. The text as restored by Klein reads: [שלום] [אלכסנדר] [רבי] [לעזר] [שמן] [חנניה] [בן] [רבי] [לעזר] [שמן] (Hananiah son of Rabbi Lazarus from Alexandria. Peace.), but the restorations are clearly speculative. Two Greek inscriptions from Jaffa mention people from cities which could be in Egypt but are more likely to be homonymous places in Palestine or Syria. *CIJ* ii no.956: Σύμωνος | υιοῦ Ἰακῶ | Διοσπολίτου | *lulab* [?] *menorah* 'Tomb of Symon son of Iako the Diospolitan. Peace'. *CIJ* ii no.957: [(?) Μνήμα] [Μ]α[?] [ἡ]μου (?) κ[?] αἱ 'Ελ[?] [ε]ά[?]ρου Νεαπ[?] [ο]λί[?]ων 'Memorial of Menachem and Eleazar the Neapolitans'.

151: Tiberias, Palestine: uncertain date. Epitaph.

Unknown.

Text follows B. Lifshitz, *Euphrosyne* 6 (1974), pp.23-4.

[μνημῖον(?) | Οὐίτος(?)]ου τοῦ | [Ἐλ]ιάβου τοῦ | [Ο]ύίτου ἀπὸ | [Ἀλε]ξαρίας.

Memorial of Vitus son of Eliabus son of Vitus from Alexandria.

M. Schwabe, *Sepher Johanan Lewy* (1949), pp.208-11 (Hebrew); B. Lifshitz, 'Varia epigraphica', *Euphrosyne* 6 (1974), pp.23-4 no.1; *SEG* xxvi (1976-7), p.391 no.1685.

J. & L. Robert, *BE* (1976), p.569 no.730.

The restorations are from Lifshitz' translation of Schwabe's work. The name Ἐλῆαβος also occurs in Josephus, *Ant.* iii 200 and vi 161; the LXX form is Ἐλῆαβ (Exod. xxxv 34). Οὐίτος is the Greek form of Vitus, a common name among the Jews of Venosa (*CIJ* i 569, 570, 593, 611). Robert noted that the name of the deceased man and his grandfather could also be restored as Αουίτος for Avitus.

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152 (CIJ ii no.1175): Khirbet Hebra (between Yavne and el-Mûghar): uncertain date. Epitaph; bilingual (Greek and Hebrew). University of Oslo, Ethnographic Museum. Text follows *CIJ* ii no.1175.

שלום על ישרון לעולם

| "Αβραμ υἱοῦ τοῦ μακαρίου Ἰωβ | ἡλ. Φαρβαίθως.

ישראל (l.1): Klein

Peace on Yeshurun for ever. (Tomb) of Abraham son of the blessed Robel, of Pharbaithos.

H. Vincent, 'Notes épigraphiques', *RB* 11 (1902), pp.436-7 (photograph; from the stone); S. Klein, *Jüdisch-palästinisches Corpus Inscriptionum* (1920), pp.54-5 no.163 (also in *Yediot* 2 (1923), p.29 no.6); *SEG* viii (1937), p.20 no.145; *CIJ* ii (1952), p.222 no.1175 (photograph).

The stone was found in a tomb with a decorated entrance, and is in a semi-circular form which suggests a tympanum. A dove is drawn on each side of the text. In l.1, Klein proposed to read the common formula שלום על ישראל, but Vincent's reading is supported by his photograph. Yeshurun presumably has the sense of 'Israel' here; on the biblical usage of the word, see M.J. Mulder in *TDOT* vi (1990), s.v. The deceased man apparently came from the Egyptian town of Φάρβαθος (modern Hurbeit), a nome-capital and later bishop's seat in the Eastern Delta, about 30 miles north-east of Athribis: see *RE* xix.2 cols.1818-9; *Lexicon der Ägyptologie* ii, p.1276. There have been wide variations in the suggested dates: 1st century A.D. (*SEG*), early centuries A.D. (Klein), 6th century A.D. (Vincent).

153 (CIJ ii no.1256): Jerusalem: 1st century A.D. (?). Ossuary; Bilingual (Greek and Hebrew). British Museum. Text follows *CIJ* ii no.1256.

ὁστᾶ τῶν τοῦ Νεικά | νορος Ἀλεξανδρέως | ποιήσαντος τὰς θύρας.

| נגנר אלכסא

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δοῦν τῶν (l.1): Sukenik δοῦν(ο)ν, Meyers δοῦντων

Bones from those of Nicanor (or Ossuary of Nicanor) the Alexandrian who made the gates.

Nicanor the Alexandrian (?).

M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* i (1900-2), pp.197-8; C. Clermont-Ganneau, 'Archaeological and epigraphic notes on Palestine no.22', *PEFQS* (1903), pp.125-31 (see also p.93) (photograph; from a squeeze); G. Dickson, 'The tomb of Nicanor of Alexandria', *PEFQS* (1903), pp.326-31 (from the original); C. Clermont-Ganneau, *RAO* v (1903), pp.334-40 (translation and amplification of *PEFQS* article); *OGIS* ii (1905), pp.295-6 no.599; S. Klein, *Jüdisch-palästinisches Corpus Inscriptionum* (1920), pp.17-18 no.9; P. Thomsen, 'Die lateinische und griechische Inschriften der Stadt Jerusalem', *ZDPV* 44 (1921), pp.118-9 no.200; E.L. Sukenik, *Jüdische Gräber Jerusalems um Christi Geburt* (1931), pp.15-17; C. Watzinger, *Denkmäler Palästinas* ii (1935), p.60, Taf.30 Abb.69 (photograph); *SEG* viii (1937), p.30 no.200; *CIJ* ii (1952), pp.261-2 no.1256; N. Avigad, 'Jewish rock-cut tombs in Jerusalem and in the Judean hill-country', *Eretz Israel* 8 (1967), pp.119-24 no.1 (Hebrew), pl.אב nos.1-2 (photograph); U. Rappaport, 'Nicanor's gate', *EJ* xii (1971), cols.1133-5 (photograph).

R.A.S. Macalister, 'Further observations on the ossuary of Nicanor of Alexandria', *PEFQS* (1905), pp.253-7; P. Roussel, 'Nicanor d'Alexandrie et la porte du temple de Jérusalem', *REG* 37 (1924), pp.79-82; R. Dussaud, Review of Roussel, *Syria* 6 (1925), pp.99-100; E. Wiesenberg, 'The Nicanor gate', *JJS* 3 (1952), pp.28-9; E. Stauffer, 'Das Tor des Nikanor', *ZNTW* 44 (1952/3), pp.44-65; E.M. Meyers, *Jewish ossuaries: reburial and rebirth* (1971), pp.50-2; P. Figueras, *Decorated Jewish ossuaries* (1983), pp.13, 15, 17; E. Bammel, 'Nicanor and his gate', in *Judaica* (1986), pp.39-41.

The ossuary (measuring 30.5 x 82.6 x 29.7 cm.) was found by Gladys Dickson in 1902 in a tomb on the north slope of the Mount of Olives. Clermont-Ganneau argued that the reference to 'gates' in l.3 concerns the Gate of Nicanor in the Temple: this was a bronze gate (see no.32, above) brought from Alexandria perhaps in the mid-1st century A.D. and mentioned in a number of rabbinic sources (notably b Yoma 38a). This has been accepted by most later writers, but *CIJ* followed Roussel in rejecting it and treating the gates as those of the tomb. The identification of this Alexandrian Nicanor

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with the donor to the Temple is of course very attractive, but ultimately unprovable.

There has been considerable discussion as to whether the first seven letters of the inscription should be taken as two words, $\delta\sigma\tau\alpha\ \tau\omega\nu$, i.e. 'the bones of Nicanor's relatives' (leaving the deceased anonymous) or (*OGIS*) 'bones from the (bones) of Nicanor', or as one word denoting 'ossuary': Meyers notes the similarity to the Persian word *astodan*. A simpler but rather drastic solution (Klein) is to delete $\tau\omega\nu$ altogether. The Hebrew text at the end appears to refer to 'Nicanor the Alexandrian' with his ethnic in an abbreviated form, but Lidzbarski suggested that in fact it consists of the names of two sons of the Greek Nicanor, inserted later. מלכסא is a known name, and could also be taken as a patronymic (*OGIS*).

APPENDIX 3: JEWISH NAMES IN PAGAN INSCRIPTIONS

154: Ptolemais (el-Mansha): 138/7 B.C. Honorific dedication of shrine; list of names.

Cairo Museum.

Text follows G. Lefebvre, *ASAE* 13 (1913-14), p.216.

(ἔτους) <λ>γ'. | ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης |
Κλεοπάτρας τῆς ἀδελφῆς καὶ βασιλίσσης | Κλεοπάτρας τῆς
γυναικὸς Θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν | καὶ τῶν τούτων τέκνων, Πανίσκος
Λυκόφρονος || Βερενικῆς τῶν ἀρχισωματοφυλάκων καὶ
ἱπ(π)άρχης | ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἐπιμελητῆς κ(α)ὶ οἱ συνοῦνται, (ᾧ)ν
τὰ ὀνόματα | ὑπόκειται, Θρίπιδι Κολάνθα(ι) Πανὶ θεοῖς συννάοις
τὸ ἱερόν.

col.b l.19 Ἀβραμ Ἀλωσματοῦτος

In the 33rd year. On behalf of king Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra the sister and queen Cleopatra the wife, the Benefactor Gods, and their children, Paniscus son of Lycophron of the deme Berenice, one of the chief-bodyguards, cavalry-officer on active duty and president, and the members of the association whose names are listed below, (dedicated) the shrine to Triphis, Kolanthes, Pan, and their fellow gods.

... Abram son of Alosmathous ...

G. Lefebvre, 'Égypte gréco-romaine IV', *ASAE* 13 (1913-14), pp.215-226 (photograph; from the stone); *SB* iii (1926), p.27 no.6184.

F. Bilabel, 'Der Gott Kolanthes', *APF* 8 (1927), p.62; M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques* i (1949), p.548; ii (1950), p.1232.

The stele is made of black granite, 165 x 80 cm., with a pediment and acroteria at the top. In the pediment are two holes which Lefebvre suggested may have been for bronze ears. There are 23 lines of text occupying about a third of the field; the rest is empty. 28 names are listed in two columns. Lefebvre noted that l.19 could also be read Ἀβραμαλὼς Μαθουτοῦ, since the patronymic is unknown in either case, but that would give two unattested names instead of just one. Foraboschi's *Onomasticon* follows Lefebvre's

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preferred reading and treats the father's name as the genitive of Ἀλωσματοῦς. On the name Abra(ha)m, see no.39.

155: Hermopolis Magna (el-Ashmunein): 80–69 B.C. (probably 79 B.C.). Honorific dedication of shrine; list of names.

Cairo Museum.

Text follows M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques* ii, p.975 (introduction); J.G. Milne, *Greek inscriptions* no.9296, pp.25-7 (names).

ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης Κ[λεοπάτρας τῆς καὶ
Τρυφαίνης Θεῶν Φιλο[πατόρ]ων καὶ Φιλαδέλφων οἱ
παρεφ[εδρ]ε[ύον]τες ἐν Ἑρμοῦ πόλει [ξένοι Ἀπολλωνιάται καὶ οἱ |
συμπολιτ]ευόμενοι κτίσται ὧν τὰ ὀνό[ματα] ὑπόκειται Ἀπόλλωνι
καὶ Διὶ καὶ τοῖς συνεστίοις θεοῖς το ἱερὸν | καὶ τὸν περὶ βολὸν καὶ
τὰ συνκ[ύρον]τα πάντα (ἔτους) β' - - -]

col.I l.19 Ὑρκανὸς Πτολεμαίου

col.II l.121 Χάβας Ἡροφῶντος

col.II l.124 Ἀπολλόδωρος Ζαββδήλου

col.II l.134 Πτολεμαῖος Δωσιθέου

On behalf of king Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra also called Tryphaina, the Father-loving and Brother-loving Gods, the foreign soldiers of Apollonia (?) on guard in Hermopolis and their fellow-citizens, the founders, whose names are listed below, (dedicated) to Apollo and Zeus and the associated gods the shrine and the precinct and all the appurtenances. In the 2nd year, ...

... Hyrcanus son of Ptolemy ... Chabas son of Herophon ...
Apollodorus son of Zabbdelos ... Ptolemy son of Dositheus ...

P. Jouguet, 'Inscriptions grecques d'Égypte', *BCH* 20 (1896), pp.177-88, 196; 21 (1897), p.166 (from the stone and a squeeze); M.L. Strack, 'Inchriften aus ptolemäischer Zeit', *APF* 1 (1901), pp.207-8, no.21; *OGIS* i (1903), pp.263-5

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no.182; M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* ii (1903-7), pp.338-9; J.G. Milne, *Greek inscriptions* (1905), pp.25-7 no.9296 (facsimile; from the stone); *SB* i (1915), pp.293-7 no.4206; M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques* i (1949), pp.549, 555-8; ii (1950), pp.974-6, 1243-4.

F. Zucker, *Doppelinschrift spätptolemäischer Zeit aus der Garnison von Hermopolis Magna* (1938), *passim*; U. Rapaport, 'Les Iduméens en Égypte', *RPh* 43 (1969), pp.75-6; P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* ii (1972), p.438 n.750; E. Bernand, *Répertoire bibliographique des OGIS* (1982), pp.34-5 no.182.

This marble stele topped with a pediment was found in December 1895. The inscription and no.156 below (as well as *SB* 599, from the 2nd century B.C.) refer to a group of soldiers in Hermopolis Magna who have been identified by Fraser and others, on the grounds of the proportion of names derived from Qos and Apollo, as the *koinon* of Idumaeans. A papyrus of the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. (*P.Giss.* 99) contains part of the acts of the association, and mentions both this inscription and no.156; it gives an approximate copy of this inscription, which enables a number of the lacunae in the introduction to be filled. The dedicators appear to define themselves as 'men of Apollonia', which Zucker took to be the town of that name on the coast between Jaffa and Caesarea, but Rapaport suggests that the restoration should be 'Ἀπολλωνιασταί, 'worshippers of Apollo'. It seems that they were not all of Idumaeans nationality, and a number had names which suggest Jewish origin. The fact that they took part in collective dedications to pagan gods, perhaps with little choice in the matter, need not exclude the possibility that they still considered themselves to be Jews.

Zucker notes 'Υρκανός as a non-Hebrew name much used by Jews, and Ζάβδηλος as a possible derivative from the Hebrew or Arabic root *zbd* 'el' = 'God gave'. In addition, Lidzbarski took Χάβας (where he improved on Jouguet's reading) as a possible Hebrew name, and Dositheus was an almost exclusively Jewish name in Ptolemaic Egypt (V.A. Tcherikover, *CPJ* i, p.19). As well as Dositheos, Launey also thought that these could be Jews or Samaritans: 182 Δωρόθεος Δωροθέου, 198 Πάτρων Δωροθέου, 204 Μουσαῖος Μουσαίου, 219 Μουσαῖος Ἀμμωνίου. Zucker lists the following other cases of a father's and/or son's name which is probably or certainly semitic: 31 Ζαβινᾶς Φιλίππου, 41 Κοττίων Βησαῖτος, 44 Κοττίων Ἀβδέου, 50 Ἀβδοκῶς Ἀχαιοῦ, 100 Γενναῖος Ζήνωνος, 152 Ἡρᾶς Μιλίχου, 179 Ἀκαμένης Ἀβδέου, 203 Ἀχαιὸς Νικολάου, 205 Ἀγγίων Ἀδαίου, 214 Αἰδίων Διοφάνου, 222 Ζαβινᾶς Δημάτος, 228

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Ἀγγαῖος Σελεύκου, 240 Ὀβαῖος Διδύμου, 241 Μίλιχος Θράσωνος, 250 Δίδυμος Μιλίχου, 252 Ἀλαφᾶν Κεφάλωνος. There are also some other theophoric names: 116 Παχῖς Θεοδώρου, 117 Ἡρώδης Θεοδώρου, 236 Θεόδωρος Ἀρτεμιδώρου.

156: Hermopolis Magna (el-Ashmunein): 78 B.C. Honorific dedication of shrine; list of names.

Cairo Museum (?).

Text follows F. Zucker, *Doppelinschrift*, p.1, with restoration of l.4 by M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques* ii, p.976.

[ὕπερ βα]σιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας τῆς καὶ
Τρυφαίνης Θεῶν | [Φιλοπα]τόρων καὶ Φιλαδέλφων οἱ
παρ[ε]φεδρεύοντες ἐν Ἑρμοῦ πόλει ξένοι Ἀπολλω[νι]αῖοι καὶ οἱ
συνπολιτευόμενοι [κ]τίσται ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα ὑπόκειται Ἀπόλλωνι |
[καὶ Δι] καὶ τοῖς συνεστίοις θεοῖς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὸν περίβολον καὶ
τὰ συνκύροντα πάντα. (ἔτους) γ' Τῦβι ις'. Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ.

col.I l.65 Ἀγγίων Χρυσίππου

col.II l.88 Καινίων Κοσακάβου

col.II l.93 Χελκίας Διονυσίου

col.II l.112 Ἀγγίων Συμμάχου

col.III l.179 Μίλιχος Βαράκου

On behalf of king Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra also called Tryphaina, the Father-loving and Brother-loving Gods, the foreign soldiers of Apollonia (?) on guard in Hermopolis and their fellow-citizens, the founders, whose names are listed below, (dedicated) to Apollo and Zeus and the associated gods the shrine and the precinct and all the appurtenances. In the 3rd year, Tybi 16. For Good Fortune.

... Aggion son of Chrysippus ... Kainion son of Kosakabos ...
Chelkias son of Dionysius ... Aggion son of Symmachus ...
Milichos son of Barakos ...

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F. Zucker, *Doppelinschrift spätptolemäischer Zeit* (1938), *passim* (photograph; from the stone); F. Zucker, 'Nachträge zur *Doppelinschrift spätptolemäischer Zeit*', *Aegyptus* 18 (1938), pp.279-84; *SB* v (1955), pp.179-82 no.8066.

J. & L. Robert, *BE* (1938), p.479 no.50; M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques* i (1949), p.555; ii (1950), p.976; U. Rapaport, 'Les Iduméens en Égypte', *RPh* 43 (1969), pp.75-6; J. & L. Robert, *BE* (1970), pp.480-1 no.655.

This limestone stele, which is topped with a pediment and measures 164 x 84 cm., was found by G. Roeder in 1932, broken in two pieces. There are three columns of names, each containing between 68 and 70, but as the bottom of the stele is broken more are clearly lost; two fragments adding some more names were subsequently bought by Roeder. The date is 25th January 78 B.C. See no.155, above, for comments on the nature of the association.

Of the names above, Zucker notes Ἀγγίων as the equivalent of Ḥaggai, Βάρακος/Βόρακος as a possible equivalent of Barach (but more probably from an Arabic root), Καίνιον a possible derivative of the Hebrew or Arabic Qain (but could also be Greek), and Χελκίας as a Canaanite name – in fact it was commonly used by Jews. Καίνιον may have been the name meant in the otherwise unattested patronymic of a Jewish military settler in the Fayum, Δωσίθεος Καμίων(ος) (*CPJ* 29.6, mid-2nd century B.C.). Zucker lists the following other names as containing a father's and/or son's name which is probably or certainly semitic: 7 [...]κλείδης Ζάβδου ούρα(γός), 32 Δίδυμος Βαανασθάνου, 33 Ἀπολλώνιος Βαλιάβου, 34 Ζαβδίων Φιλοξένου, 35 Ἰσούβου Φιλάγρου, 42 Ἡρακλείδης Ζαβδάδου, 43 Βαννίων Ἡρακλείδου, 59 Ἀβδῆς [.....]ου, 69 Βάργος Ἀπολλωνίου, 81 Μαισαιζάβας Μενάνδρου (πεντηκόνταρχος), 94 Λέων Ὀδιήλου, 95 Δημᾶς Αἰθιβήλου, 129 Μίλιχος Ἀργαίου, 174 Ἡρακλείδης Ναθινᾶτος, 181 Φίλων Ναθινᾶτος, 201 Διόδοτος Γενναίου. From one of Roeder's additional fragments: 76g Μάσυλλος Μασύλλου, 76h Ἀβδοκῶς Ἀπολλων[ίου], 76k Ἀνουσίων Μασύλ[λου]. There are also some theophoric names: 39 Θεόδοτος Ἐλιάδου, 194 Θεόδωρος Θεοδώρου.

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The following *CJZC* inscriptions have not been included in the index: 17-25 (Roman inscriptions referring to the Jewish revolt but not concerning Jews); 28 (association with Cyrenaica highly doubtful); 29, 35, 36, 39 (from outside Cyrenaica); 77, 78 (papyri); 32d, 37, 38 (not thought by Lüderitz to be Jewish); 76, 79 (literary texts). For nos. 6-9 (lists of names, including ephebe lists) and 71 (Jews honouring a non-Jew), only people who are likely to be Jewish have been indexed; this includes all those with theophoric names, and their fathers or sons. *SEG* xxxvii (1987) no.1702 was not included in *CJZC*.

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I. DETAILS OF INSCRIPTIONS

a. PROVENANCE OF INSCRIPTION

'Ain Targunya	C 30 bis
Apollonia	C 1; C 2; C 3; C 4; C 5
Balagrai	C 30
Berenice (Benghazi)	C 70; C 71; C 72; C 73
Cyrene	C 6; C 6 (graffiti); C 7; C 8; C 9; C 10; C 11; C 12; C 14; C 15; C 16
road to Apollonia	C 13
south of the agora	C 26b
south-east of the agora	C 26a
near Cyrene	C app.1
near Gernada	C app.2
Ptolemais	C 31; C 32; C 33; C app.4; C app.5; C app.6; C app.7; C app.8
Wadi Ziuani	C 34
Teucheira	C 41; C 42; C 42a; C 43; C 44; C 45; C 46; C 47; C 48; C 49; C 50; C 51; C 52; C 53; C 54; C 55; C 56; C 57; C 58; C 59; C 61; C 62; C 63; C 65; C 66a; C 66b; C 67; C 68; C 69; C app.9; C app.10; C app.11; C app.12; C app.13; C app.14; C app.15; C app.16; C app.17; C app.18; C app.19; C app.20; C app.21; C app.22; C app.23; C app.24; C app.25; SEG xxxvii 1702
gymnasium	C 41d
Umm el-Hnaar	C app.3

b. DATE OF INSCRIPTION

EXACT DATES

11 B.C. or A.D.34	C 46c
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10 B.C. or A.D.35	C 50g; 50j(?)
A.D.3	C app.12g
A.D.3/4	C 7a
A.D.9/10 and later	C 13d(?)
A.D.24	C 71
A.D.25 and earlier	C 6 (graffiti)
A.D.32	C 52b(?)
A.D.34	C 63b(?)
A.D.35	C app.12i(?)
A.D.39 and earlier	C 7b-c
A.D.42	C 30
A.D.48	C 4
A.D.50	C 53c(?)
A.D.55	C 72
A.D.57	C 50b(?)
A.D.59	C 50b
A.D.59/60	C 67e
A.D.60/61	C 8
A.D.62 and 69/70	C 2
A.D.65	C 50a
A.D.66/67	C 52c
A.D.67/68	C 45c
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A.D.69/70	C 44f
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A.D.71	C 56b
A.D.73	C 57h; C 63e; C app.20d; C app.20h
A.D.74	C 58a
A.D.76	C 44h; C 44i; C 44j; C 50c; C 51e
A.D.78	C 43d(?)
A.D.79/80	C app.21(?)
A.D.80	C 56a; C 58d; C app.9b; C app.12b
A.D.82	C 53b
A.D.86/7	C app.3
A.D.91/92	C 11

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1st century B.C. (late) or A.D.	C 31a; C 44d; C 44g; C 44k; C app.18d; C app.24d; C app.24e; C app.24f
Roman	C 3; C 12; C 14; C 33; C 47; C48; C49; C 61; C 62; C 66; C 68; C app.4; C app.5; C app.6; C app.7; C app.8; C app.10; C app.11; C app.12m; C app.13; C app.14; C app.16; C app.17; C app.22
30 B.C.—A.D.14	C 70(?)
30 B.C. or 1st century A.D.	C 31d
30/29 B.C. or 1st century A.D.	C 44b
29 B.C. or 1st century A.D.	C 50e; C 50i; C app.18l
28 B.C. or 1st century A.D.	C 45e; C app.15a
28/7 B.C. or 1st century A.D.	C 50h
27 B.C. or 1st century A.D.	C 45b; C app.18g
26 B.C. or 1st century A.D.	C 44c; C app.24g
25 B.C. or 1st century A.D.	C 31b; C app.15b
25 B.C.—A.D.80	C 43a
24 B.C. or 1st century A.D.	C 43b; C 43c; C 44a
23/2 B.C. or 1st century A.D.	C 45d
22 B.C. or 1st century A.D.	C 43e; C 45a; C 50d
21 B.C. or 1st century A.D.	C 45g; C 50f; C 65; C app.15g; C app.18i
20 B.C. or 1st century A.D.	C 31c; C 44e
19 B.C. or 1st century A.D.	C 46a
18 B.C. or 1st century A.D.	C 46b
16 B.C. or 1st century A.D.	C app.24b
14 B.C. or 1st century A.D.	C 45f
11 B.C. or 1st century A.D.	C app.15f
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A.D.70–115	C 42; C 42a
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A.D.115–117	C 30 bis(?)
4th century A.D.	SEG xxxvii 1702
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Prayer *SEG* xxxvii 1702

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Ἀδιδόαιος	C 41c(?)
Ἀκούλας	C 47a
Ἀλεξῆς	C 52h
Ἀλεξάνδρος	C 1; C 44g; C 72
Ἀλκίδαμος	C 69
Ἀμασίνας	C 47a; C 47b
Ἀμελίτας	C 63f(?)
Ἀμμωνία	C app.12l
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Ἀνδρόμαχος	C 70; C 71
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Γάιος	C 12; C 32a; C 51f; C 70; C app.13a; C app.22g

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Γναῖος	C 70
Δάδος	C 69
Δαμίων	C 56c
Δαμό	C 14b
Δέκμος	C 70
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Διδδοτος	C 44b; C 44c; C 44i; C 44j; C 69
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Δωρίων	C 70
Δωροθέος	C 2; C 14a
Δωσᾶς	C 54a
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Δωσιθέα	C 33c; C 58a
Δωσίθεος	C 41a; C 41b; C 44d; C 44e; C 44k; C 50e; C 50g; C 50h; C 50j; C 51b; C 51e; C 52c; C 52b; C 72; C app.9b; C app.19r; C app.20i
Ἐγλόγη	C 3
Εἰζακας	C 63a(?)
Εἰησοῦς	C 52d
Εἰρήνα	C 33d; C 52a; C 73; C app.9a; C app.10(?)
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Εἰρηνᾶς	C app.2
Εἰρήνη	C 2; C app.11e
Εἰσιδώρα	C 72
Εἰσίδωρος	C 72
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Ἐλάσζαρ	C 7a
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Εὐβίοτος	C 69(?)
Εὐδοκίδης	C app.14b
Εὐκλείδης	C 13d
Εὐκλείδης	C 50e
Εὐκλίδης	C 61d
Εὐμένης	C 10; C 69
Εὐπολῖς	C 13c
Εὐπροξίς	C 52g
Εὐπρόσυνος	C 67c; C 67e; C app.25a
Εὐτέρπη	C 68
Εὐφράνωρ	C 7a; C 32c; C 46c; C 52f; C 71; C 72; C app.16a; C app.19e; C app.23j
Εὐφροσύνα	C app.21
Εὐφροσύνης	C 67b
Ζελαῖος	C 70(?)
Ζεῦξις	C 63d; C app.23e
Ζήαινα	C 45e(?)
Ζηνίων	C 72
Ζηνόδωρος	C 72
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Ζωῖλος	C 72
Ζωσίμη	C 72
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Ἡρακλίδης	C 72
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Θαλλοῦς	C 63e; C app.14b
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Θεόδοτος	C 32c; C 41b; C 50a; C 50b; C 50c; C 71; C app.11d; C app.11e
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Θευκρίσιος	C 7a
Θεύφιλος	C 33b; C 72
Θεύχρηστος	C 7a; C 7b-c; C app.22g
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Ἰαλμῖς	C 56b
Ἰάσων	C 6; C 7a; C 7b-c; C 8; C 15; C 72
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Ἰησοῦς	C 1; C 6; C 7a; C 45d; C app.14a; C app.15a(?)
Ἰοάνης	C 32b; C 55a(?); C 55b; C 55d; C 55e; C 55g
Ἰοδᾶς	C 63b
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Ἰούδας	C 7b-c; C 45f; C 54b; C 62a; C app.13c
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Ἰούδιον	C 32c;
Ἰουδίων	C 2(?); C 55b
Ἰουλία	C 45a; C 58f; C app.24b
Ἰούλιος	C 7a; C 32a; C 51a; C 65; C app.13a; C app.24e; C app.24f
Ἰππασῖς	C 7b-c
Ἰππονίκα	C app.11d; C app.12b; C app.12g; C app.15f
Ἰππονίκος	C app.12d
Ἰρήνα	C 67a; C 67b;
Ἰρηνάιος	C 9
Ἰρηνάος	C 7a
Ἰσιδίκα	C 62a(?)
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Ἰώσηπος	C 50i; C 55c; C 71; C app.7; C app.25c(?)
Ἰωσῆς	C 12; C app.8
Ἰωσίπος	C app.16a
Καλομέρα	C 48
Καλλίκλεια	C 50b
Καλλικλῆς	C 52e
Καλλίς	C 43d
Καλλισθένης	C 69; C app.11a; C app.11b;
Καλλώ	C 55c
Κάνδιδος	C 49; C app.13a;
Καπίτω	C 31a
Καρνήδας	C 7a; C 72
Κάρνις	C 6
Καρπλία	C 31b; C 31c
Καρτίλιος	C 31a; C 31d
Καρτισθένης	C 72
Κλέανδρος	C 71
Κλευπάτρα	C 30; C 57g
Κοίντος	C 12
Κορνήλιος	C 72
Κρατεία	C app.22g
Κρῖνις	C 7b-c
Κρίσπος	C 12
Κριτόλα	C 46b
Κρίτων	C 7b-c; C 61a; C 61b; C 61c; C app.22f
Λαλῖος	C 71
Λαῖς	C 52c
Λέαινα	C 45e(?)
Λεύκασπις	C 7b-c
Λεύκιος	C app.12d
Λευκίππος	C app.23k
Λίκος	C 53c
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Λουκῖος	C 51a
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Λύκος	C 67c; C 67e
Λυσανίας	C 57f; C 61c; C 69; C 72; C app.15g; C app.16f; C app.22a; C app.22f
Λυσίας	C 46b; C 46c; C app.15a; C app.15b
Λυσίμαχος	C 45b
Λώπνος	C app.24b
Μαγαυνος (gen.) (?)	C 53d
Μάγιος	C 62c
Μάκερ	C 67a; C 67d
Μαρ[.....]	C 72
Μάρα	C 50d
Μάρθα	C 55d
Μαρία	C 65; C 66a
Μάριν	C 1; C 52f; C 57a; C app.3
Μαρινικός	C 69(?)
Μάριον	C 2
Μαρίων	C 33a
Μάρκος	C 33d; C 45c(?); C 67d; C 67f; C 71
Ματιήνος	C 69(?)
Μεγδί	C 56b
Μελίτων	C app.23f; C app.23l
Μενελάος	C 51d
Μηνᾶς	C app.9a
Μητροφάνης	C 47b; C 62b
Μναςώ	C 14a
Μουσαῖος	C 67b; C 67e
Μυρτοί	C 44b
Μυρτύ	C 59c
Μυρτώ	C 13d; C 31b; C 52c
Να[...]	C 52c
Ναῖος	C 57c; C 57d
Νάσων	C 59c
Νείκαγορας	C app.4a
Νεικαῖος	C 58e
Νείκαις	C app.16c
Νείκανδρος	C app.4a
Νεοπόλις	C 7a
Νίκαιος	C 52e; C 58f

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Νικάνωρ	C 7a
Νίκας	C 51e
Νικᾶς	C app.12f
Νικίας	C 48; C 70; C app.12f; C app.12i
Νικοδίστα	C 44c
Νίκων	C 58b; C 58e
Νόννα	C 44k(?)
Ξεν[.....]	C app.24g
Ξένων	C 51d
΄Ονασίων	C 71
΄Ονόμαρχος	C 69
Ουαλέριος	C 70
Πάτρων	C 7a
Πανσανίας	C 59b; C app.12c
Πε[.....]	C app.23l
Πέλεια	C app.22f
Πέληα	C 61b
Πειτωνία	C 31c
Πόθων	C 7a
Πολυάρχος	C 58a; C 58c
Πόλων	C 72
Ποπελία	C 13a
Πόπλιος	C 43a
Πόπλις	C app.19q
Πραξαγόρα	C app.5
Πρῶτης	C 72
Πρατομήδης	C 72
Πρίσκος	C 43b(?); C 43e
Πρῶρος	C app.19d; C app.19e(?)
Πρωτίων	C app.15b; C app.15f
Πτολεμαῖος	C 50b; C 50c; C 50d; C 70; C app.12m; C app.18g
Πτυλᾶς	C app.18l
Πτυλμαῖος	C 57f; C app.18i
΄Ροδᾶς	C 14b
΄Ροῦφος	C 45a; C app.18d; C app.19q
Σαββατίς	C 62b
Σαλβία	C 33c

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Σαλώ	C 1
Σαλώι	C app.12a
Σάρα	C 11; C 31d; C app.4a
Σαραπίων	C 70
Σάρρα	C 10; C 12; C 43c; C 46a; C app.19f
Σαυρίτας	C 7a
Σεκόνδα	C 43b; C 51c; C 51f(?); C 59c; C 68
Σελυμαῖος	C 16
Σεραπίων	C 53a; C 53c; C 72
Σεραφίων	C 53b
Σήδιος	C 43a
Σιδώνιος	C 16
Σίλιος	C 59d; C 67e; C app.21
Σίμυκος	C 69(?)
Σίμων	C 7a; C 7b-c; C 10; C 11; C 13b; C 13d; C 14a; C 61a; C 67b; C 68; C 70
Σκευᾶς	C 43a; C 43b; C 43c
Σπεύσανδρος	C 13a; C 13b
Στρατόνικος	C 71
Στρατώ	C 69
Στράτων	C 13c; C 71; C 72
Σωγένης	C 50a; C 50b; C 50f; C 50g; C 50i; C 50j; C app.18g(?)
Σώδομος	C app.3
Σωκράτης	C 72
Σώνικος	C 71
Σωσίβιος	C 72
Σωσιγένης	C 71
Σώσιππος	C 52c; C 71
Σωτέλης	C 7b-c
Τεμοκράτης	C 44j(?)
Τελεσιστράτος	C 46a
Τελεσώ	C app.23f
Τελεσώι	C app.23e
Τερπώλιος	C 72
Τερτία	C app.8
Τίμαρχος	C 53d

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Τισίμαχος	C 7a
Τουβίας	C 54d
Τρύφαινα	C 55b
Τρύφων	C 1
Τύδης	C 69
Τύφων	C 57e
Υάκινθος	C 42a
Υραθις	C 69
Υρατθις	C 69
Φιλάργυρος	C app.17
Φιλέρων	C app.19j
Φιλήμων	C 32c
Φίλιππος	C 55f; C app.14a(?)
Φιλοκράτης	C 56a; C 56c
Φιλοξένος	C 2
Φιλοξήνα	C 55g
Φιλοῦς	C 63c; 63f
Φίλων	C 6; C 10; C 33a; C 43d; C 44a; C 52g; C 68; C 69; C app.19p
Φιλωνίδης	C 71
Φλακκία	C 62c
Χαιρέας	C 7b-c
Χυλδαῖος	C 41c
Ωρίων	C 7b-c
[.....]ας	C app.21
[.....]νανος	C app.23k
[.....]σιος	C 55a
[....]ης	C app.19p
[....]σανναις	C 59d
[...]αγριος (?)	C app.19j
[...]αρχος	C 9
[...]κράτης	C app.18d
[..]εοδαμος	C 59c
[.]αυρος	C app.4b
[.]πα[.....]α	C app.20h

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b. NAMES OF ROMAN CITIZENS

Cn. Bassius Artemas	C 57c; C 57d
Billiena Hipponica	C app.12b; C app.12g
L. Billienus Hipponicus	C app.12d
Billienus Judas	C app.13c
Cartilia Myrto	C 31b
Cartilia Petronia	C 31c
A. Cartilius Capito	C 31a
C. Iulius	C 32a
C. Iulius Aretas	C app.13a
C. Iulius Candidus	C app.13a
M. Laelius Onasion	C 71
Salvia Dosithea	C 33c
P. Sadius Scaeva	C 43a
C. Valerius	C 70
D. Valerius Dionysius	C 70
Valerius Theophilus	C 33b

father non-citizen, son citizen C 71

c. NOTABLE FEATURES OF NAMES

Double name

Both names Greek C 14a; C 42a(?)

Relatives' names of differing origin

Father Greek, son Greek/Hebrew C 7a; C 7b-c; C 13b; C 13d;
C 67b

Father Greek, daughter Hebrew C 1; C 2; C 10; C 46a; C
50d; C 52f; C app.3; C app.4a

Father Greek, daughter Hebrew/Latin C 66a

Father Greek, son Hebrew C 1; C 2; C 6; C 8; C 32c;
C 52d; C 54d C 63a; C 71; C 72; C
app.1; C app.14a

Father Greek, son/daughter Hebrew C 62b

Father Greek, daughter Latin C 13a; C 51c; C 58f

Father Greek, daughter Libyan C 48

Father Greek, son Latin C 45c; C 57b; C 72

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- Mother Greek, son Latin C 67a
 Father Greek/Hebrew, daughter Greek C 10; C 14a; C 67b
 Father Greek/Hebrew, son Greek C 61a
 Father Greek/Hebrew, daughter Greek C 11
 Father Greek/Hebrew, daughter Latin C 68
 Father Hebrew, daughter Greek C 55b; C 55c; C 55g; C 59c;
 C 62a; C app.5; C app.7
 Father Hebrew, son Greek C 7a; C 7b-c; C 45f; C 50i;
 C 54b; C 59c; C app.9b; C app.15a; C
 app.16a
 Father Hebrew, daughter Latin C 59c; C app.8
 Father Hebrew, son Latin C 7a; C 59c
 Father Latin, daughter Greek C 57g; C 57h; C 67f; C 72
 Father Latin, son Greek C 33d; C 53c; C 67e; C 70;
 C app.13a; C app.18d
 Father Latin, daughter Hebrew C 12; C 31d(?); C 43c(?); C
 57a
 Father Latin, daughter Hebrew/Latin C 65
 Father Latin, son Hebrew C 12
 Father Libyan, daughter Greek C 56b; C app.12i; C app.12l
 Father Libyan, son Greek C 47b; C 69; C app.12c
 Father Libyan, son Latin C 47a
- Relatives' names of same origin
 Father and daughter Greek C 3; C 13d; C 14b; C 30; C
 33a; C 44b; C 44c; C 44k; C 45e; C
 45g; C 46b; C 50b; C 50f; C 51e; C
 52a; C 52c; C 52h; C 58a; C 58c; C
 58d; C 59b; C 61b; C 61d; C 63c; C
 63e; C 63f; C 68; C 69; C 72; C app.6;
 C app.9a; C app.11b; C app.11d; C
 app.11e; C app.14b; C app.15f; C
 app.15g; C app.16c; C app.16f; C
 app.21; C app.22f; C app.22g; C
 app.23e; C app.23f
 Father and son Greek C 6; C 7a; C 7b-c; C 10; C
 13c; C 15; C 16; C 32c; C 44a; C 44h;
 C 44i; C 44j; C 45b; C 46c; C 50a; C
 50b; C 50c; C 50e; C 50g; C 50h; C
 50j; C 51b; C 51d; C 52b; C 52c; C

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	52e; C 52g; C 53b; C 53c; C 54a; C 54c; C 54d; C 54e; C 55f; C 56a; C 56c; C 57f; C 58b; C 58e; C 61c; C 63d; C 66b; C 67b; C 67c; C 67e; C 69; C 70; C 71; C 72; C app.2; C app.4a; C app.4b; C app.11a; C app.12f; C app.12h; C app.15b; C app.16b; C app.17; C app.18g; C app.18i; C app.19d; C app.19e; C app.19j; C app.19r; C app.22a; C app.22f; C app.23j
Father and son/daughter Greek	C 43d
Father and son Greek/Hebrew	C 13d
Father and daughter Hebrew	C 55d
Father and son Hebrew	C 7a; C 55b; C 55e; C 63b
Father and daughter Latin	C 43b; C 45a; C 51f; C 62c; C app.24b
Father and son Latin	C 3; C 12; C 49; C 51a; C 67d; C app.19q; C app.22g
Father and son Libyan	C 69; C app.12k
Homonymous father and son	C 7a; C 12; C 13d; C 44i; C 50h; C 54d; C 55e; C 55f; C 69; C 71; C 72; C app.2; C app.12h; C app.12k; C app.16b; C app.22g; C app.23j
Patronymic	C 1; C 2; C 3; C 6; C 7a; C 7b-c; C 8; C 9; C 10; C 11; C 12; C 13a; C 13b; C 13c; C 13d; C 14a; C 14b(?); C 15; C 16; C 30; C 31d(?); C 32c; C 33a; C 33d; C 43b; C 43c(?); C 43d; C 44a; C 44b; C 44c; C 44e; C 44g(?); C 44h; C 44i; C 44j; C 44k; C 45a; C 45b; C 45c; C 45d; C 45e; C 45f; C 45g; C 46a; C 46b; C 46c; C 47a; C 47b; C 48; C 49; C 50a; C 50b; C 50c; C 50d; C 50e; C 50f; C 50g; C 50h; C 50i; C 50j; C 51a; C 51b; C 51c; C 51d; C 51e; C 51f; C 52a; C 52b; C 52c; C 52d; C 52e; C 52f; C 52g; C 52h; C 53b; C 53c; C 53d; C 53e(?); C 54a; C

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 55b; C 55c; C 55d; C 55e; C 55f; C
 55g; C 56a; C 56b; C 56c; C 57a; C
 57b; C 57f; C 57g; C 57h; C 58a; C
 58b; C 58c; C 58d; C 58e; C 58f; C
 59a; C 59b; C 59c; C 59d; C 61a; C
 61b; C 61c; C 61d; C 62a; C 62b; C
 62c; C 63a; C 63b; C 63c; C 63d; C
 63e; C 63f; C 65; C 66a; C 66b; C
 67a; C 67b; C 67c; C 67d; C 67e; C
 67f; C 68; C 69; C 70; C 71; C 72; C
 app.1; C app.2; C app.3; C app.4a; C
 app.4b; C app.5; C app.6; C app.7; C
 app.8; C app.9a; C app.9b; C app.11a;
 C app.11b; C app.11d; C app.11e; C
 app.12c; C app.12f; C app.12h; C
 app.12i; C app.12k; C app.12l; C
 app.12m(?); C app.13a; C app.14a; C
 app.14b; C app.15a; C app.15b; C
 app.15f; C app.15g; C app.16a; C
 app.16b; C app.16c; C app.16f; C
 app.17; C app.18d; C app.18g; C
 app.18i; C app.18l; C app.19d; C
 app.19e; C app.19j; C app.19p(?); C
 app.19q; C app.19r; C app.20h; C
 app.21; C app.22a; C app.22f; C
 app.22g; C app.23e; C app.23f; C
 app.23i; C app.23j; C app.23k; C
 app.23l; C app.24b; C app.24e
 C 70; C 71
 C 71
 C 67a(?)

τοῦ in patronymic
 υἱός after patronymic
 Matronymic

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III. PERSONAL DETAILS

a. FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

GREEK VOCABULARY

πατήρ	C 32d(?); C 67c(?)
τέκνον	C 42a
υἱός	C app.13a; C 71

RELATIONSHIPS WITHIN INSCRIPTIONS

father and daughter	C app.4a(?)
mother and son	C 67a(?)
brother and sister	C 1(?); C 32c(?); C 55b(?); C 59c(?); C app.21(?); C app.22f(?)
brothers	C 32c(?); C 54d(?); C 69(?)

b. AGE AT DEATH

1 year old	C app.19p
3 years old	C 50a; C app.12l; C app.13c(?)
4 years old	C 12; C 13b; C 44j; C 53c; C 53d; C 54d; C 58b; C 59c(?); C app.15b(?); C app.24g
5 years old	C 4; C 13d; C 52a; C 52h; C 63a
5 years and 10 months old	C app.6
6 years old	C 45c; C 51e; C 58a(?); C 58e; C 63e; C 66a
7 years old	C 44g; C 45b; C 45d; C app.22f; C app.24e
8 years old	C 1; C 47b; C 52d; C 59c(?); C app.11b; C app.22g
9 years old	C 45f(?); C 55e; C 62a; C app.11a
10 years old	C 31d; C 55b; C 69; C app.19n
11 years old	C 51d; C 56b; C app.21

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12 years old	C 32c; C app.19m
13 years old	C 41d (not an age at death); C 45a; C 53b; C 55b; C app.5
14 years old	C 10; C 31b; C 32b; C 52b; C app.23i
15 years old	C 12; C 14a; C 44e; C 47a; C 66b(?); C 69; C app.12i; C app.16c; C app.22f
16 years old	C 14b; C 45e; C 59c(?)
17 years old	C 42a; C 43c; C app.4a; C app.24b
18 years old	C 12; C 48; C 52c; C 57c(?); C app.21
19 years old	C 49; C app.19l
20 years old	C 44d(?); C 44k; C 54d; C 55f; C 61b; C 67a; C 67b; C 67f; C 68; C app.2; C app.19q; C 52c; C app.22g
20 (+?) years old	C app.23l
20 or 23 years old	C 58f
21 years old	C 2; C 54b; C app.11d; C app.20h(?)
22 years old	C 50d; C 57d; C 65
23 years old	C 52e; C app.15a; C app.17; C app.22a
24 years old	C 50i; C 59d(?)
25 years old	C 11; C 44h; C 62c; C 67e; C app.8
26 years old	C app.16g
27 years old	C 32c; C 63f
28 years old	C 10; C app.23j; C app.24g
30 years old	C 13c; C 30; C 46c; C 55g; C 56c; C 61d; C 67b; C 67e
32 years old	C 67d; C app.23f
33 years old	C 50f; C app.7; C app.18i
34 years old	C 57e
35 years old	C 2; C 32c; C 43d; C 44i; C 46b; C 50b; C 51c; C 52c; C 54a; C 58d; C app.11e; C app.12k; C app.15g; C app.16f; C app.19j
38 years old	C 52g; C 56a(?)
39 years old	C 13a; C 13d; C 33b
40 years old	C 52f; C 59b; C 63d; C app.3; C app.4a; C app.8; C app.12b; C app.12h(?)

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42 years old	C app.12g
45 years old	C 1
46 years old	C 57b
48 years old	C 33c; C 62b; C app.4b
50 years old	C 44a; C 57h; C 61a; C 63c; C app.9a; C app.25a
51 years old	C 51e; C app.12m
55 years old	C 51b
57 years old	C 2
58 years old	C 12; C 55c
60 years old	C 43a; C 44b; C app.19r
60 (+?) years old	C 13d; C 50e
62 years old	C 61c
63 years old	C 54c
64 years old	C 50g; C 50j; C 55a
65 years old	C app.1; C app.23e(?); C app.23k
66 years old	C app.12i(?)
67 years old	C app.16b(?)
68 years old	C 10
70 years old	C 54e; C 57a; C app.18g
70 (+?) years old	C 31c
71 years old	C app.18l
73 years old	C 58c
79 years old	C 52c
80 years old	C 50b(?); C 50c
82 years old	C 67c
85 years old	C 55d; C app.12f
87 years old	C 1
98 years old	C 46a
100 years old	C 63b
? years old	C 32c; C 33d; C 44c; C 45g; C 50h; C 51f; C 57g; C app.4b(?); C app.12c; C app.14a

c. EPITHETS

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πλήρης ἀρετῆς	C app.4a
ποιῶν ἀγαθὸν	C 70
ποθητός	C 42a

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slave (?)	C 4; C 12; C 31d; C 43b; C 43c; C 67a; C app.12m
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ἄρχων	C 70; C 71; C 72
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ἱερεύς	C 72
νομοφύλαξ	C 8
οἱ πολῖται	C 70
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πρεσβύτερος	C 7a
προσήλυτος	C 12
προστασία	C 71
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b. ETHNICS

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Ἰουδαῖος	C 59c(?)
Ἰουδαῖοι	C 70; C 71; C 72

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Σιδώνιος

C 16(?)

V. RELIGION

a. JEWISH DIVINE TITLES

κύριος

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b. NON-JEWISH DIVINE AND MYTHOLOGICAL REFERENCES

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c. JEWISH RELIGIOUS AND COMMUNAL TERMINOLOGY

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C 70

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C 71

συναγωγή

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ἀνφιθέατρον

C 70

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C 70

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e. PRAYERS AND BLESSINGS

βοήθησον

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f. SYMBOLS

ethrog or ivy leaf

C 73

leaves

C 12

lulab

C 26b(?); C app.3

menorah

C 26a; C 26b; C 30 bis; C 42

rosette

C 62b; C app.4b

wreath

C 12; C 41d

laurel wreath with ribbons

C 14a; C 14b

wreath of leaves with ribbons

C 1; C 10

VI. RULERS AND DATES

a. MONARCHS

Augustus

C 7a

Nero

C 72

b. REGNAL AND OTHER YEARS

Year 1

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Year 2

C 32c; C 33a; C 44b; C 50e; C 50i; C 52e; C 54e; C 57a; C 61d; C 67c; C app.25a

Year 2 of Nero

C 72

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Year 3	C 45e; C 51c; C 51d; C 52d; C 55d; C 55g; C 67a; C app.4a; C app.9a; C app.18l; C app.24d
Year 4	C 50b; C 50h; C 57b(?); C 59b; C 61a; C app.11a; C app.11d; C app.15a; C app.16g; C app.18g; C app.19q; C app.21(?); C app.25c
Year 5	C 44c; C 45b; C 51f; C 56c; C 57f; C 63c; C 63d; C 63f; C app.4b(?); C app.12d; C app.16b(?); C app.23f(?); C app.24g
Year 6	C 31b; C 49; C 57e; C 67b; C 67e; C app.4a; C app.12k; C app.15b
Year 7	C 44a; C 54c; C 55b; C 55e(?); C 57d; C 57g; C app.11e; C app.12a; C app.19d; C app.23e
Year 8	C 32c; C 43b; C 43c; C 54d; C 57c(?); C app.23l
Year 9	C 45d(?); C 47a; C 50d; C 67d; C app.11b; C app.13c(?); C app.14d(?); C app.22g(?)
Year 10	C 43e; C 45a; C 45g; C 50f(?); C 52h(?); C 53a; C 53c; C 55c; C 68; C app.7; C app.14c(?); C app.15g(?); C app.16f; C app.18i; C app.19e(?); C app.19p; C app.22f
Year 11	C 44e; C 52a; C 54a; C 54b; C 58b; C 58f; C 62a; C 65; C 66b; C 67f; C app.12e; C app.12m; C app.17; C app.19f
Year 12	C 31c; C 46a; C app.5; C app.19k
Year 13	C 6 (graffiti); C 32c; C 46b; C 62c; C app.12c; C app.12h; C app.19r; C app.23k
Year 14	C 47b; C 51b; C 53d; C 66a; C app.8; C app.13b
Year 15	C 55f; C 61b; C 62b; C app.13a; C app.19l

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Year 16	C 52g; C app.24b
Year 18	C 45f; C app.12f
Year 19	C 52b
Year 20	C 63b
Year 21	C 6 (graffiti); C 46c; C 50g; C app.15f
Year 22	C 52f(?)
Year 25	C app.23i(?)
Year 30	C 6 (graffiti)
Year 34	C 7a; C app.12g
Year 40	C 13d(?)
Year 50 (+?)	C 58c
Year 54	C 6 (graffiti); C 7b-c
Year 55	C 6 (graffiti); C 7b-c; C 71
Year 58	C 7b-c
Year 66	C app.12i(?)
Year 69	C 7b-c
Year 72	C 30(?)
Year 78	C 4
Year 80	C 53c(?)
Year 89	C 50b
Year 90	C 8; C 67e
Year 91	C 8
Year 93	C 2
Year 95	C 50a
Year 97	C 52c
Year 98	C 45c
Year 100	C 2; C 44f; C 58e(?)
Year 101	C 56b; C app.20i(?)
Year 103	C 63e
Year 104	C 57h; C app.20d; C app.20h
Year 105	C 58a
Year 106	C 50c
Year 107	C 44h; C 44i; C 44j; C 51e
Year 108	C 43d(?)
Year 110	C 56a; C app.21(?)
Year 111	C 58d; C app.9b; C app.12b
Year 112	C 53b
Year 117	C app.3

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Year 122	C 11
Year .3 (?)	C 70
Year ..	C 13d; C 32c(?); C 43a; C 44g; C 50j; C 53e; C 55a; C 63a; C 67b; C app.4b; C app.10; C app.14b; C app.16c; C app.22a

c. MONTHS

Thoth ..	C app.12e; C app.13b; C app.16g; C app.19j; C app.23l
Thoth 1	C 43b; C 45a; C 67b; C app.15f; C app.17
Thoth 2	C 51e
Thoth 3	C 44h; C 44j; C 57d; C 66a; C app.18l
Thoth 5	C 52g
Thoth 12	C app.9b
Thoth 13	C 44i
Thoth 15	C app.14c(?)
Thoth 19	C app.12b
Thoth 20	C 45f
Thoth 22	C 61b
Thoth 27	C 67a
Thoth 28	C 54d
Thoth 30	C 58d
Phaophi ..	C 68; C app.15a
Phaophi 4	C app.11b
Phaophi 5	C 43e(?); C 62c
Phaophi 11	C 46c
Phaophi 15	C 47a
Phaophi 16	C 54c(?)
Phaophi 20	C app.24e(?)
Phaophi 25	C 71
Phaophi 28	C app.24b
Hathyr ..	C 44g(?); C 45b; C 50b; C app.20d; C app.20h; C app.23k
Hathyr 2	C 2; C 54b

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Hathyr 7	C 54d
Hathyr 10	C 58e(?)
Hathyr 12	C 52d
Hathyr 13	C 67b
Hathyr 15	C 67c
Hathyr 16	C app.19p(?)
Hathyr 17	C 55d
Hathyr 18	C app.16f
Hathyr 25	C 66b(?); C 67f
Hathyr 27	C app.19r
Hathyr 28	C 52b
Hathyr 29	C 63c
Choiak ..	C 32b; C 32c; C 43a
Choiak 1	C app.4a
Choiak 5	C app.12i
Choiak 6	C 72(?)
Choiak 8	C app.12g; C app.23e
Choiak 10	C 48; C 65
Choiak 11	C 43c; C app.19f
Choiak 15	C app.11e
Choiak 16	C app.7
Choiak 18	C app.20i
Choiak 20	C app.14b
Choiak 22	C 62b
Choiak 27	C 31c
Choiak 29	C 58a
Tybi 1	C 57h(?)
Tybi 6	C app.19d
Tybi 9	C 55b(?)
Tybi 11	C app.13c(?)
Tybi 14	C 54a; C 57b
Tybi 20	C 51c; C 52e
Tybi 27	C 45e
Mechir ..	C 50f; C 58c; C app.16c
Mechir 5	C 52h; C 53b
Mechir 7	C app.23i
Mechir 8	C 50e
Mechir 17	C app.24g

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Mechir 18	C 63d; C app.15g(?)
Mechir 20	C 52a
Mechir 23	C app.22g
Mechir 25	C 63a
Mechir 28	C 30
Mechir 30	C app.22g(?)
Phamenoth ..	C 53a; C app.12f; C app.24g
Phamenoth 5	C 70; C app.12d; C app.23j
Phamenoth 7	C 63e
Phamenoth 9	C app.19k(?)
Phamenoth 10	C 63f
Phamenoth 20	C 57g
Phamenoth 22	C 56c
Phamenoth 23	C 44e
Phamenoth 24	C 50j
Pharmouthi ..	C app.24d
Pharmouthi 4	C app.5
Pharmouthi 5	C 61a; C app.12c
Pharmouthi 8	C 55f
Pharmouthi 10	C app.9a
Pharmouthi 13	C 56a(?)
Pharmouthi 14	C app.24f
Pharmouthi 15	C 57f
Pharmouthi 18	C 56b
Pharmouthi 20	C 32c; C 43d
Pharmouthi 20	C 58f(?)
Pharmouthi 21	C 62a(?)
Pharmouthi 22	C 55c
Pharmouthi 23	C 4
Pharmouthi 26	C app.19e
Pharmouthi 27	C app.12a
Pachon ..	C app.12h; C app.19q
Pachon 3	C 46a
Pachon 4	C app.15b
Pachon 6	C app.16a(?)
Pachon 7	C 31b
Pachon 13	C app.19l
Pachon 20	C 57a

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Payni ..	C 44c; C app.13a
Payni 1	C app.25c
Payni 2	C 45g
Payni 4	C 44a
Payni 5	C 31d
Payni 18	C 55e
Payni 19	C app.21
Payni 28	C app.21
Epeiph ..	C 47b; C 50b; C app.10
Epeiph 3	C 54e
Epeiph 4	C app.25a
Epeiph 11	C app.12i
Epeiph 12	C 49
Epeiph 15	C 33a; C 46b
Mesore ..	C 55a; C app.18g
Mesore 2	C 63b
Mesore 3	C 50i; C 58b
Mesore 6	C 42a; C app.16b(?)
Mesore 10	C 50c; C 55g; C 57c(?); C app.15g(?)
Mesore 14	C 59b
Mesore 19	C 61d; C app.18i
Mesore 21	C app.23f(?)
Mesore 24	C 50g
Mesore 25	C 53c
Mesore 26	C 51d
Epagomenae ..	C 50d; C 55b
Epagomenae 2	C app.11d
Epagomenae 3	C 50a
Epagomenae 5	C app.11a
..... 27	C app.14d
variant spellings	
Φαῶφ	C 43e; C 71
Χδίαχι	C 43a; C 58a; C 62b; C 72; C app.4a; C app.7; C app.14b; C app.20i; C app.23e
Χόαχι	C app.12i
Χδίαχ	C 32b; C 43c; C app.11e
Χδίαχι (?)	C 32c

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Χόιακ	C 31c; C 48; C 65; C app.12g
Μεχέρ	C 50f(?); C 53b
Μοχέρ	C 30
Φαμενῶτ	C 57g(?); C app.24g
Παοῖνι	C 44a; C 45g
Παῦν	C app.21; C app.25c
Ἐπίφι	C 33a; C 47b; C 49; C 54e
Ἐπεῖφι	C 50b
Ἐπίφι	C app.25a

VII. FORMULAE

LIFE AND DEATH OF THE DECEASED

ἔπλησεν καὶ ἀπέθανε	C app.25a
ἔζησεν καὶ ἀπέθανε	C 67e
ἔζησεν	C 67d; C 67f
ἐτελεύτησε	C 33b; C 33d
τέθνηκεν	C 42a

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE BEREAVED

ἀουε εὐψύχι	C 42a
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OTHER FORMULAE

κ' οὐδ' ὅλης ἡμέρας	C 42a
στέφανος ἐλαϊνός καὶ λημνίσκος	C 70; C 71

VIII. LINGUISTIC

a. ABBREVIATIONS

ἐτ(ῶν)	C 33b
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CYRENAIC INDEX

Θ (*theta nigrum*)
μη(νι)

C 13a
C app.20i

b. VARIANT SPELLINGS

-α- for -αι-	C 7a; C 51e
-α ending in gen.	C 7a; C 7b-c; C 13d; C 14b(?); C app.22a(?); C 43b; C 43c; C 45c; C 45e; C 45f; C 46b; C 47a; C 47b; C 48; C 52a; C 52h; C 54b; C 54c; C 57b; C 58d; C 59b; C 61d; C 62a; C 63d; C 63f; C 69; C 70; C 72; C app.2; C app.4a; C app.9a; C app.12f; C app.14b; C app.15a; C app.15b; C app.15g; C app.16f; C app.18l
-α for -η	C 4; C 59b; C 67f; C app.12i; C app.21
β for Latin <i>v</i>	C 33b; C 33c
-γλ- for -κλ-	C 3
Δοσ- for Δωσ-	C 41d
-δδ- for -δ-	C 53e
Ει- for 'Ι-	C 52d; C 72
-ει- for -ι-	C 4; C 44j; C 58e; C 72; C app.4a; C app.16c
-ειο- for -εο-	C 34;
-ευ- for -εο-	C 7a; C 7b-c; C 30; C 33b; C 45b; C 53b; C 57g; C 57h; C 63a; C 66b; C 68; C 72; C app.1; C app.6; C app.18i; C app.22g
-ευ- for Latin <i>u</i>	C app.12d
-εζ for -αζ	C 72
-ζ- for -σ-	C 63a
-η- for -ει-	C 61b
-θ- for -τθ-	C 69
'Ι- for Ει-	C 7a; C 67a; C 67b
-ι- for -ει-	C 61d
-ι- for -η-	C app.16a
-ι- for -υ-	C 53c

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-λ- for -λλ-	C 57h; C 69
N- for Latin <i>Gn</i> -	C 57c; C 57d
-νφ- for -μφ-	C 70
-ο- for -ου-	C 53c; C 63b
-ο- for -ω-	C 32b; C 55a(?); C 55b; C 55d; C 55e; C 55g; C 63b
-οι for -ω	C 44b; C 56b
-ο for -ω	C 14b
-π- for -φ-	C 67c; C 67e; C app.25a
-ρ- for -ρρ-	C 11; C 31d; C app.4a
-σ- for -σσ-	C 57b
-σζ- for -ζ-	C 7a
-υλ- for -ολε-	C 57f; C app.18i
-υ for -ω	C 59c
-φ- for -π-	C 53b
-ω ending in gen.	C 2; C 6; C 6 (graffiti); C 7a; C 7b-c; C 9; C 16; C 32a; C 44c; C 44g; C 44h; C 44i; C 44j; C 50i; C 51a; C 51d; C 51e; C 51f; C 52c; C 52d; C 53b; C 53c; C 57a; C 57h; C 58a; C 58c; C 59d; C 63b; C 66a; C 67d; C 67f; C 69; C 72; C app.3; C app.6; C app.7; C app.18d; C app.19d; C app.19q; C app.20h; C app.21
-ωι for -ω	C app.12a; C app.23e

c. NUMERALS

age at death includes months	C app.6
numeral as word	C 42a; C 50i
numeral with digits reversed	C 49; C 52d; C 52e; C 52f(?); C 54a; C 54d; C 56a(?); C 56b; C 56c; C 57f; C 57h; C 59b; C 62a(?); C 62b; C 63a; C 63d; C 63c; C 66a; C 66b; C 67a; C 67b; C 67c; C app.7; C app.12m; C app.13c; C app.14c; C app.14d; C app.15g(?); C app.16f; C app.18i; C app.19e; C app.19f; C app.19p(?); C

CYRENAIC INDEX

ἐτῶν in full	app.19r; C app.21; C app.24b C 33d; C 42a; C 44b; C 44c; C 50i(?); C 51f(?); C 57f; C 69; C app.1; C app.4b; C app.12f; C app.12i C 67d; C 67e; C 67f; C app.25a C 71
ἐτη in full	C 53b
ἔτους in full	C 59c(?)
μηνί in full	C 66a
L omitted	C 57e; C 58a(?)
superfluous L	C 54c
numeral: F'	
FI'	

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAWW	Anzeiger der Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophische-Historische Klasse, Wien
ABSA	Annual of the British School at Athens
AE	Année Épigraphique
AIPHO	Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AJP	American Journal of Philology
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt
AP	Anthologia Palatina
APAW	Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
APF	Archiv für Papyrusforschung
ARW	Archiv für Religionswissenschaft
ASAE	Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte
ASAW	Abhandlungen der Philologisch-Historischen Klasse der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig
AZJ	Allgemeine Zeitschrift des Judentums
BASOR	Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research
BASP	Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists
BCH	Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique
BE	Bulletin Épigraphique
BEHJ	Bulletin des Études Historiques Juives
BGU	Ägyptische Urkunden aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin; Griechische Urkunden
BIE	Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte
BIFAO	Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale
BPW	Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift
BSAA	Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie d'Alexandrie
BSAC	Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte
BSKG	Bulletin de la Société Khédiviale de Géographie
CE	Chronique d'Égypte
CHJ	Cambridge History of Judaism (vol.ii ed. W.D. Davies and L. Finkelstein)

JEWISH INSCRIPTIONS OF EGYPT

CIG	Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum
CIJ	Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
CIRB	Corpus Inscriptionum Regni Bosporani
CJZC	Corpus Jüdischer Zeugnisse aus der Cyrenaika (G. Lüderitz & J.M. Reynolds)
CPJ	Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum
CPR	Corpus Papyrorum Raineri
CRAI	Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres
DACL	Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie (ed. F. Cabrol & H. Leclercq)
DHA	Dialogues d'Histoire Ancienne
EG	Epigrammata Graeca (G. Kaibel)
EJ	Encyclopaedia Judaica
GV	Griechische Versinschriften (W. Peek)
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
IG	Inscriptiones Graecae
IGRR	Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes (ed. R. Cagnat et al.)
ILS	Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae (ed. H. Dessau)
IM	Inscriptions Métriques (E. Bernand)
JANESCU	Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JDAI	Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts
JE	Jewish Encyclopaedia
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
JEBH	Journal of Economic and Business History
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies
JKPh	Jahrbücher für Klassische Philologie und Pädagogik
JÖAI	Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JSJ	Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies

BIBLIOGRAPHY

JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
KS	Kleine Schriften (H. Lietzmann)
LSJ	Liddell, Scott & Jones
MGWJ	Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums
OGIS	Orientis Graecae Inscriptiones Selectae (ed. W. Dittenburger)
PBA	Proceedings of the British Academy
PEFQS	Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement
PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly
PG	Patrologia Graeca (ed. J.P. Migne)
RAC	Reallexikon für Archäologie und Christentum
RAL	Rendiconti dell' Accademia dei Lincei
RAO	Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale (C. Clermont-Ganneau)
RB	Revue Biblique
RE	Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft
REB	Revised English Bible
REG	Revue des Études Grecques
REJ	Revue des Études Juives
RevArch	Revue Archéologique
RevEp	Revue Épigraphique
RFIC	Rivista di Filologia e d' Istruzione Classica
RHR	Revue de l'Histoire des Religions
RIL	Rendiconti dell' Istituto Lombardo, Classe di Lettere, Scienze Morali e Storiche
RIsrE	Revue Israélite d'Égypte
RivAC	Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana
RPh	Revue de Philologie
RQ	Rivista Quindicinale
SB	Sammelbuch Griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten (ed. F. Preisigke et al.)
SCIsr	Scripta Classica Israelica
SCO	Studi Classici e Orientali
SEG	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum
SO	Symbolae Osloenses
SPAW	Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften

JEWISH INSCRIPTIONS OF EGYPT

TDNT	Theological Dictionary of the New Testament (translation of <i>TWNT</i>)
TDOT	Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament (translation of <i>TWAT</i>)
TLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung
TSBA	Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archeology
TWAT	Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament (ed. G.J. Botterweck & H. Ringgren)
TWNT	Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament (ed. G. Kittel et al.)
VT	Vetus Testamentum
WS	Wiener Studien
ZÄSA	Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde
ZDPV	Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
ZNW	Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

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CONCORDANCE OF THE ENTRIES WITH *CIJ* AND *CPJ*

Numbers in brackets indicate inscriptions not considered
to be Jewish in this book

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<i>CPJ</i> 1530b	99
<i>CPJ</i> 1530c	100
<i>CPJ</i> 1530d	101
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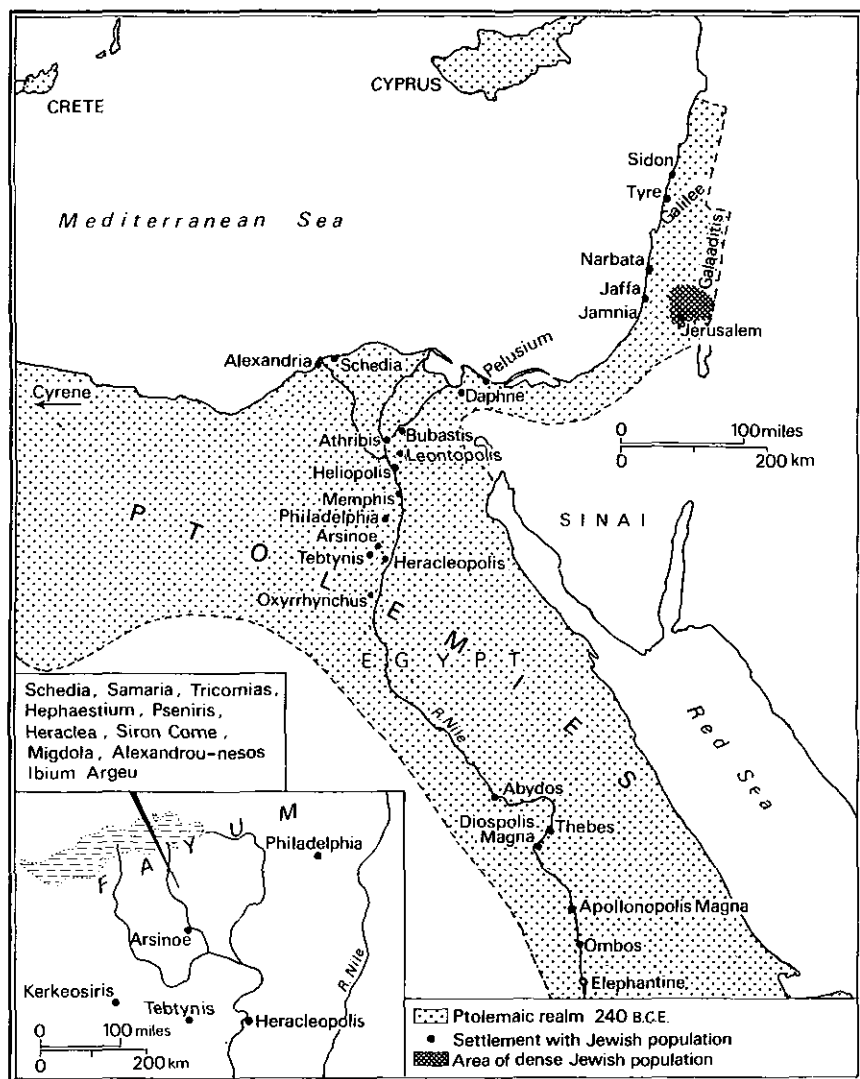
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Plate I



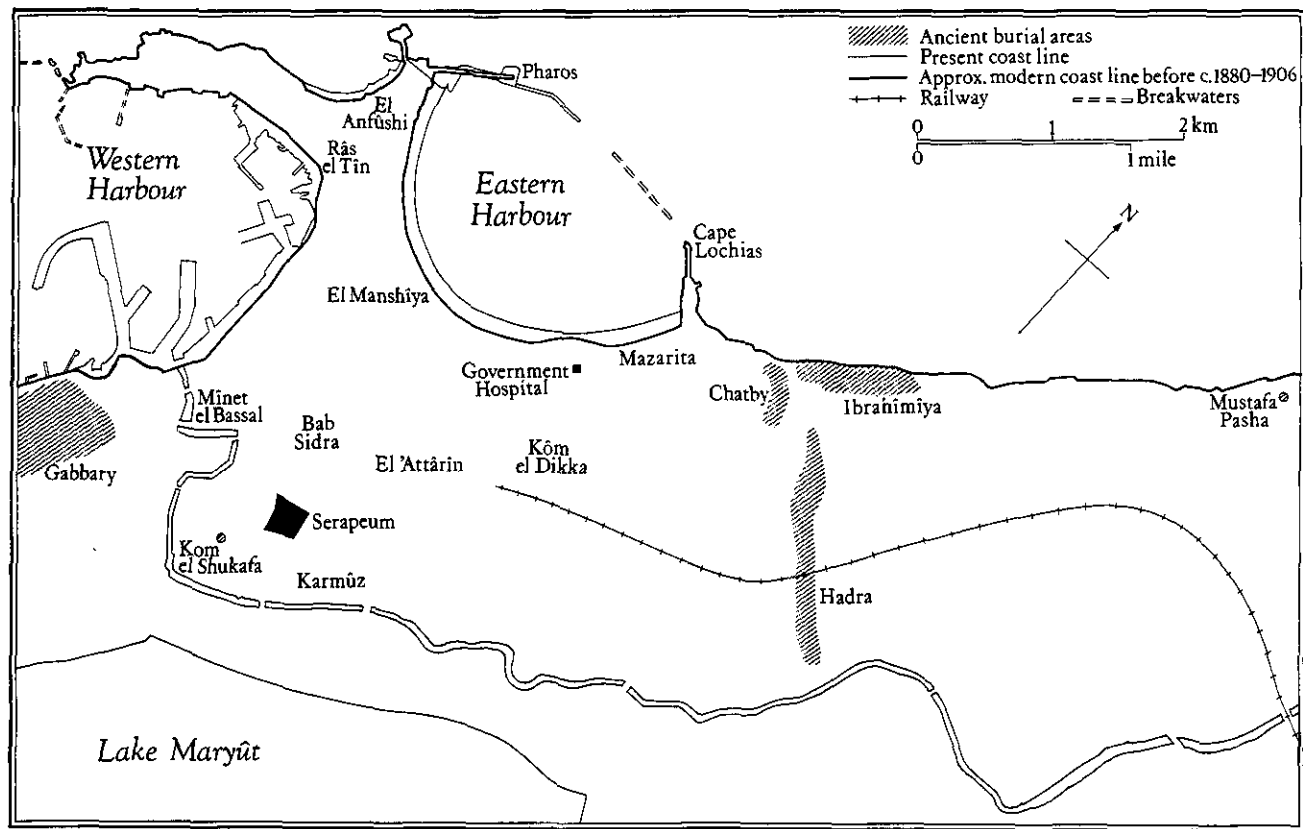


Plate II

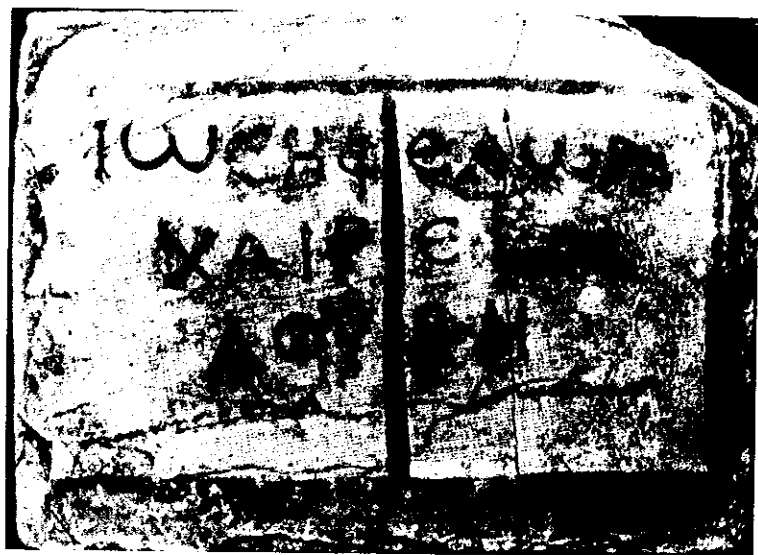
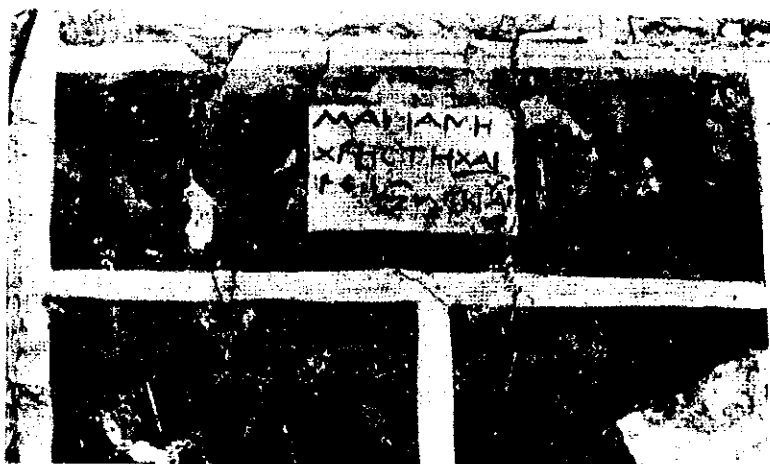
Plate III





Plate IV

Plate V



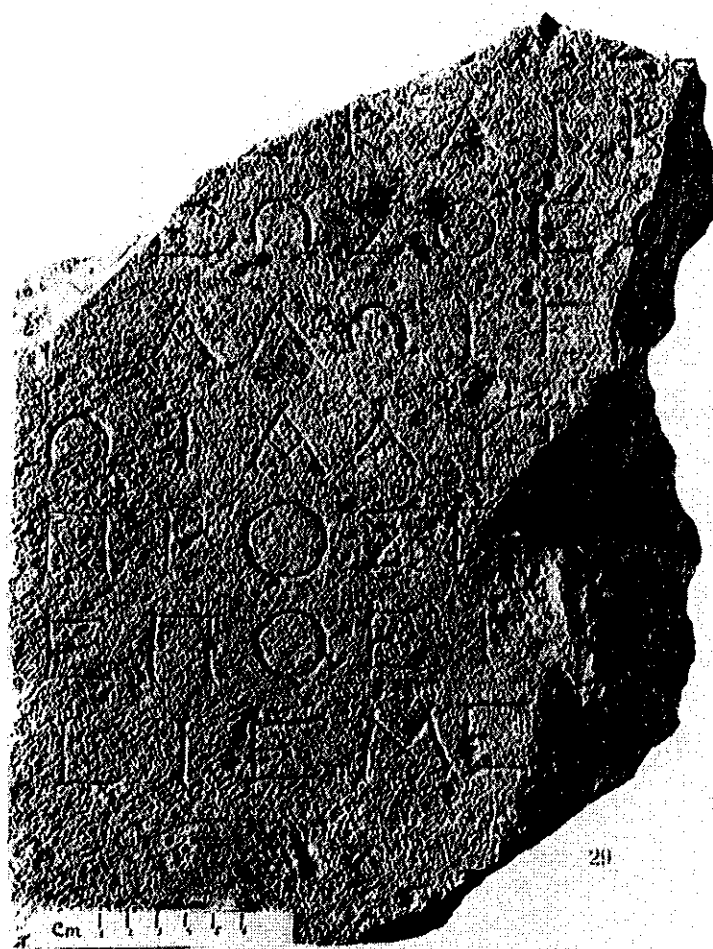


Plate VII



Plate VIII

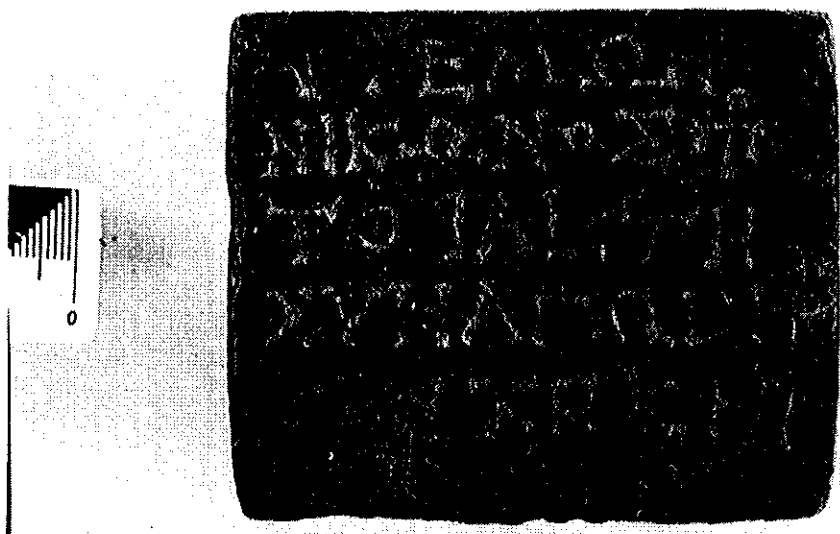




Plate IX

Plate XI

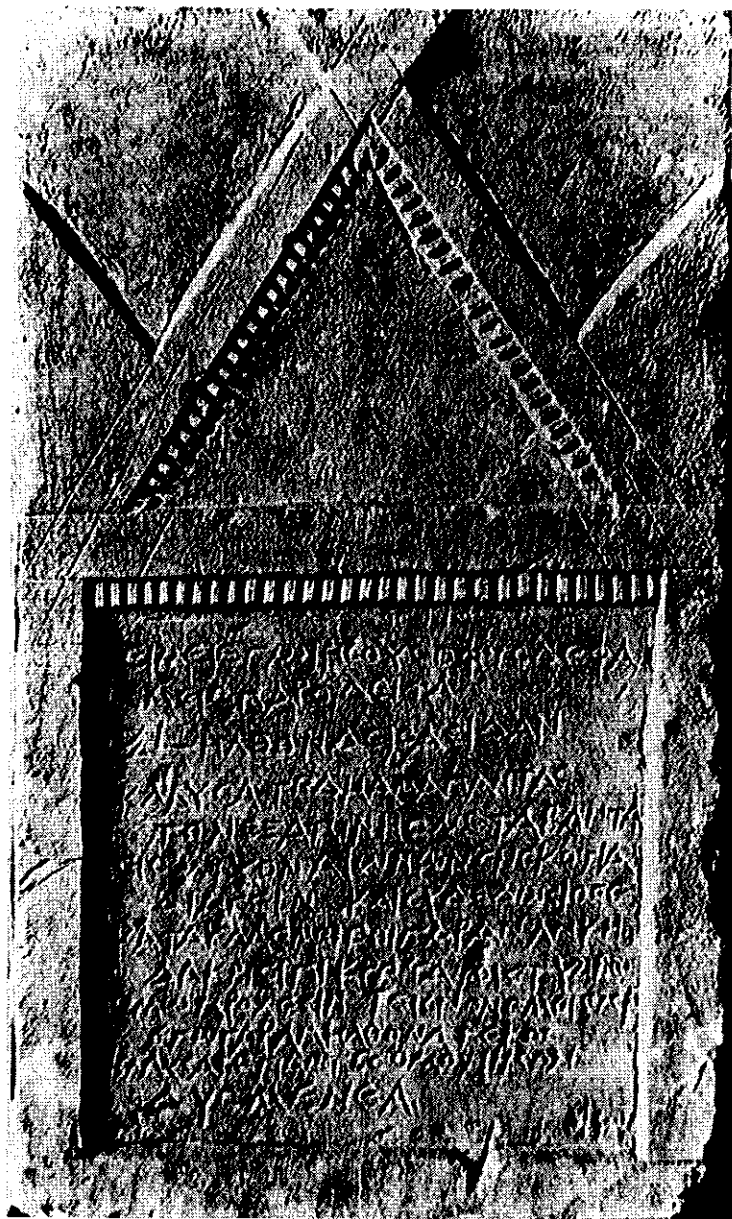
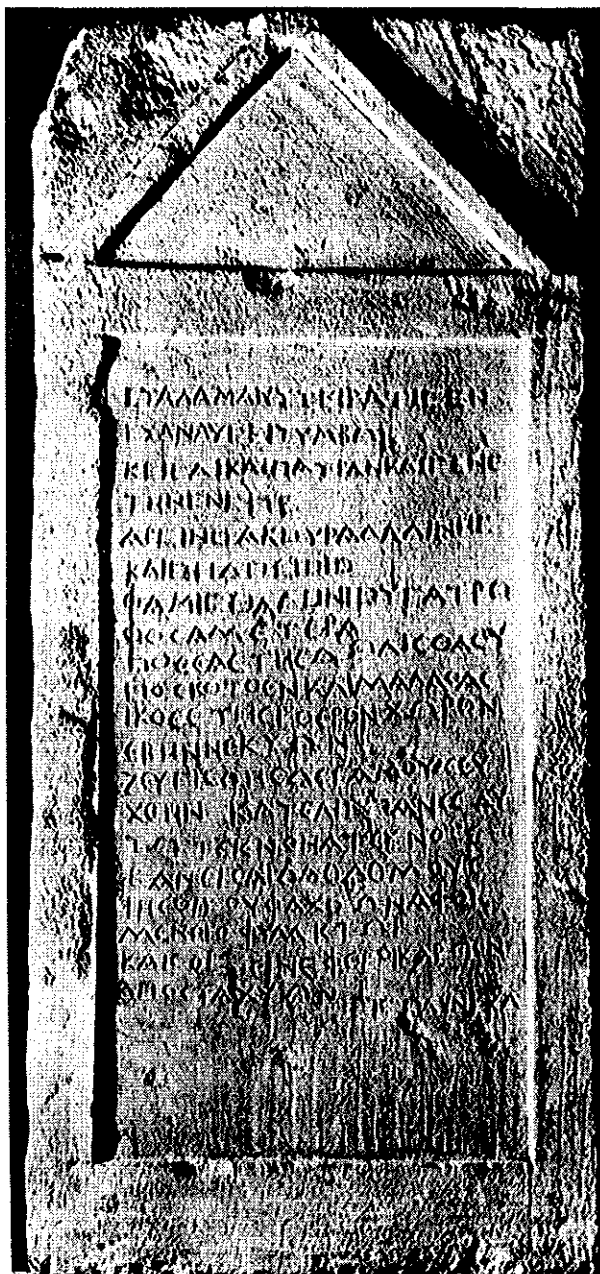


Plate XII



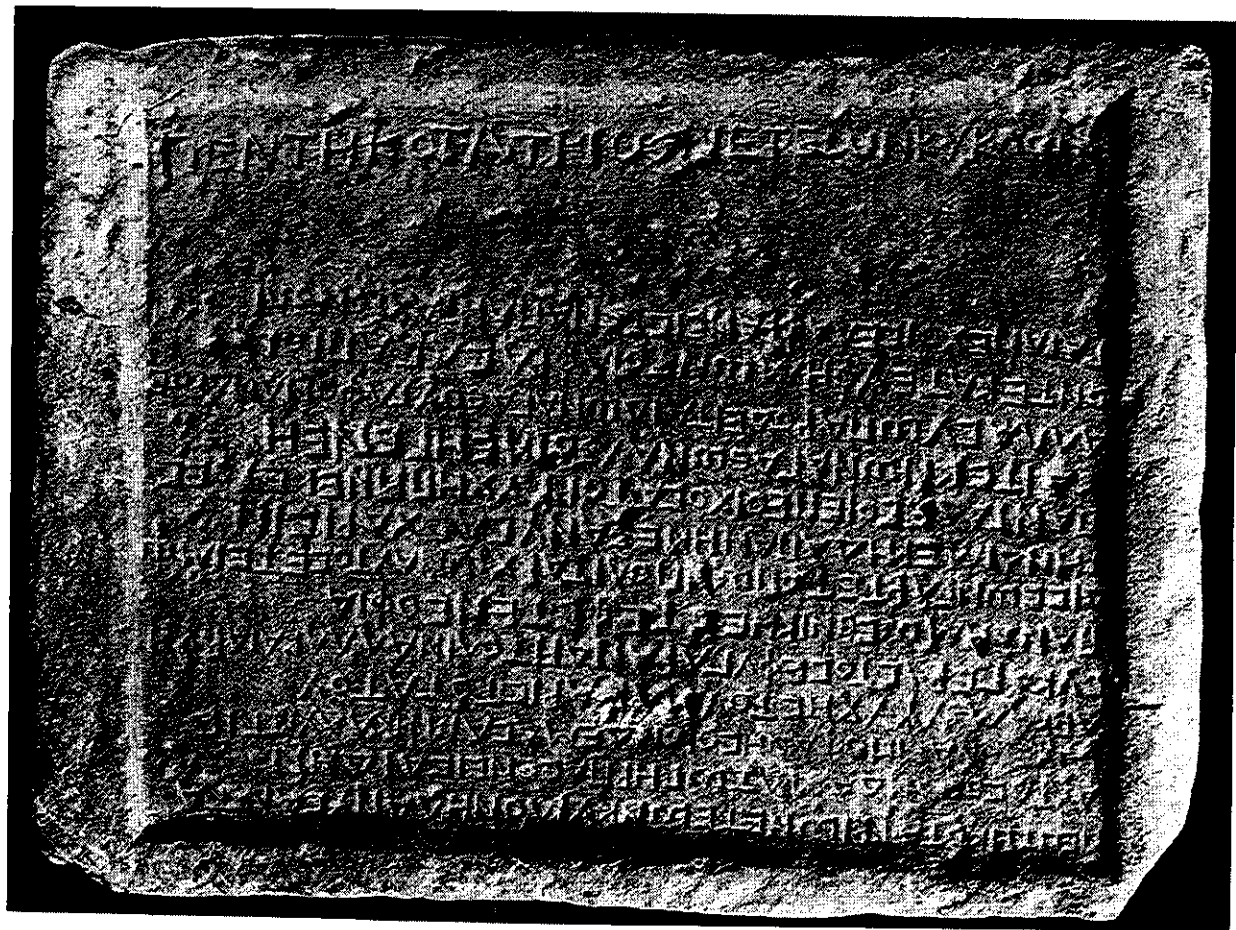


Plate XIII

Plate XIV

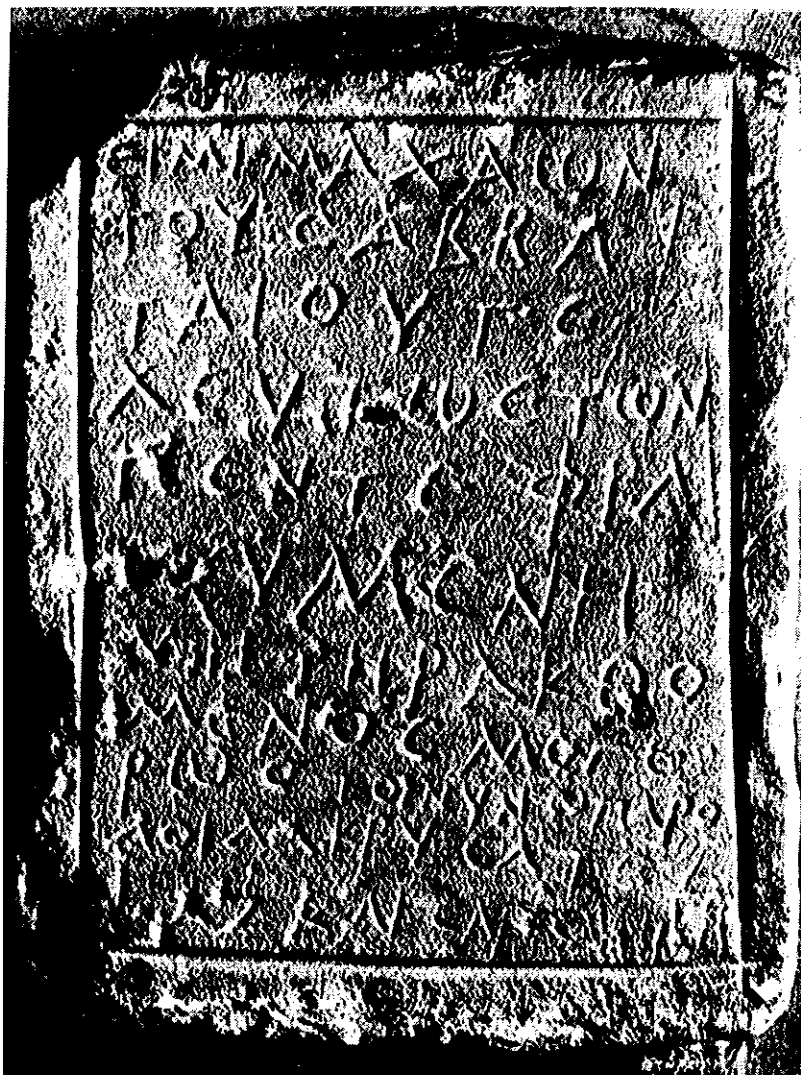


Plate XV



Plate XVI



Plate XVII

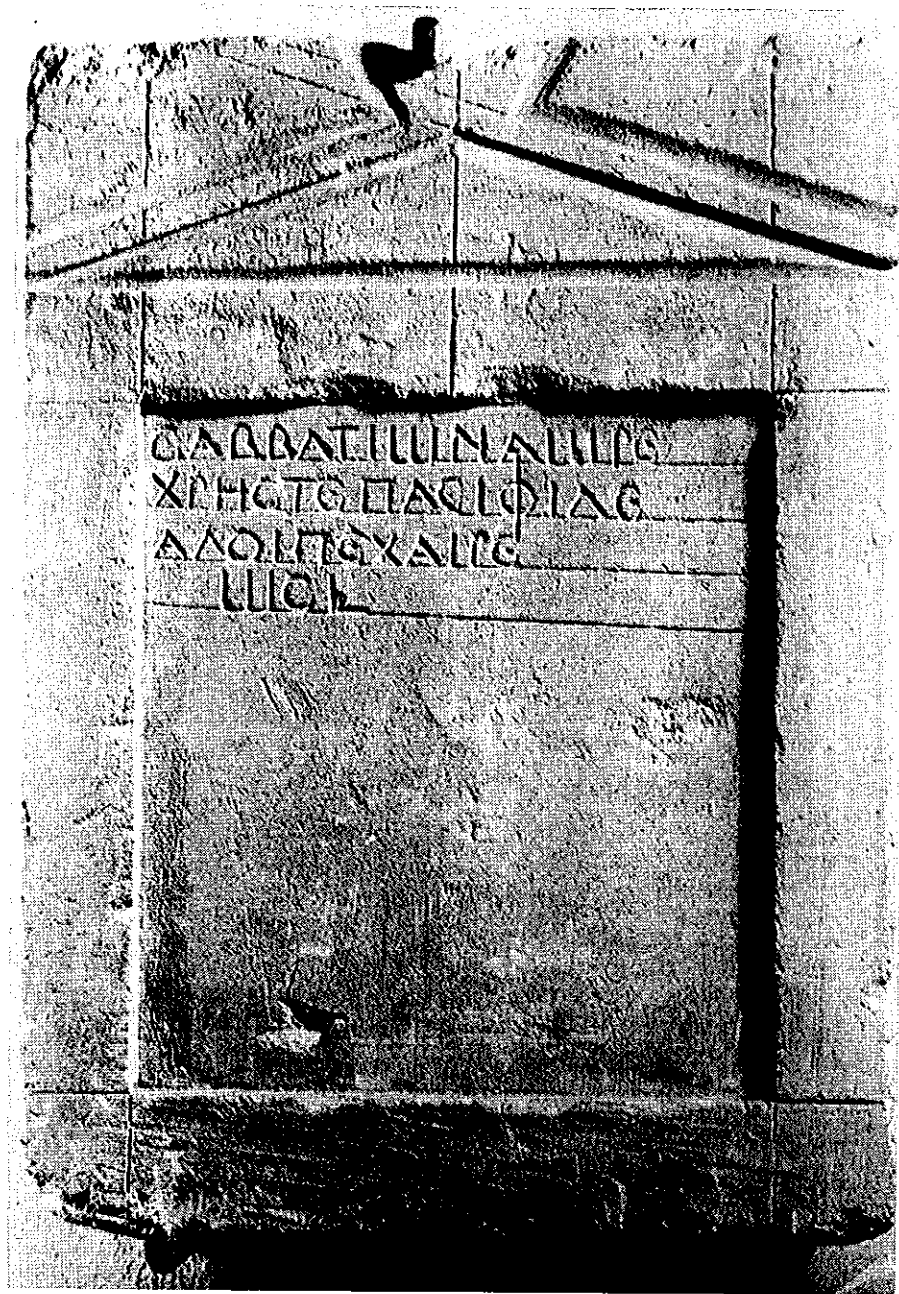


Plate XVIII



Plate XIX





Plate XXI



Plate XXII





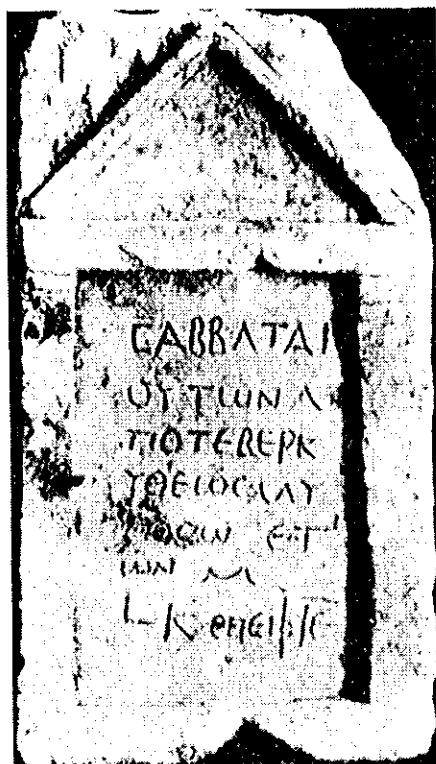
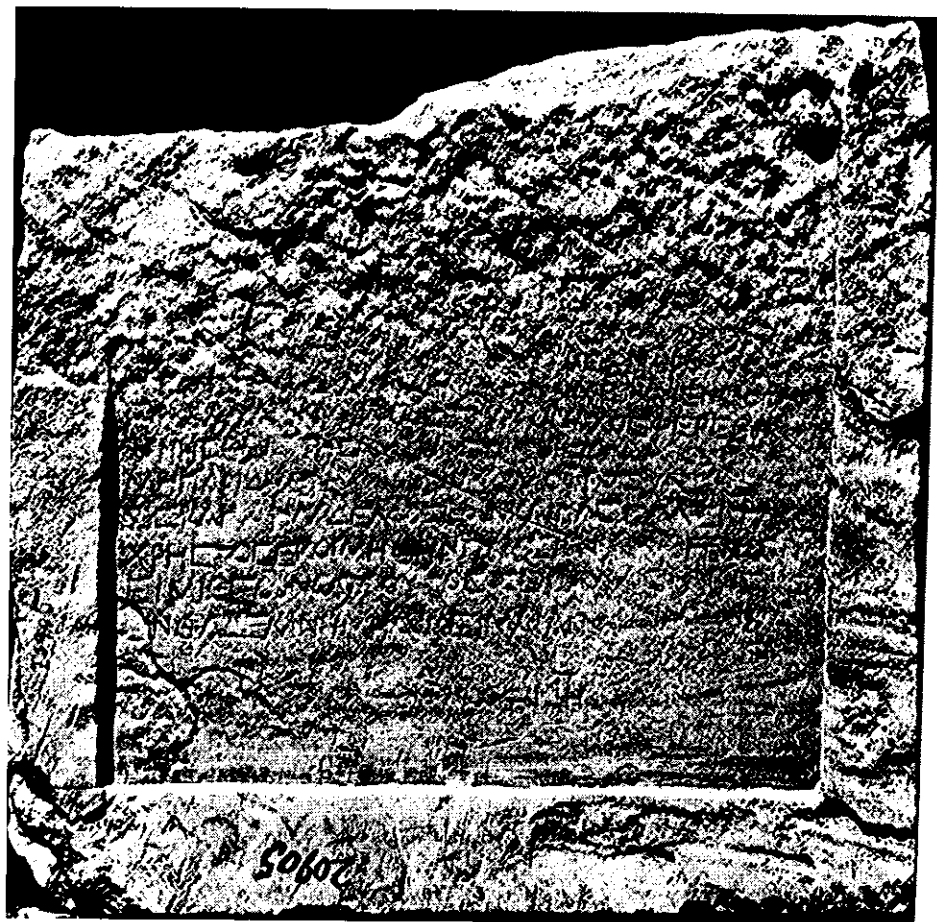


Plate XXV



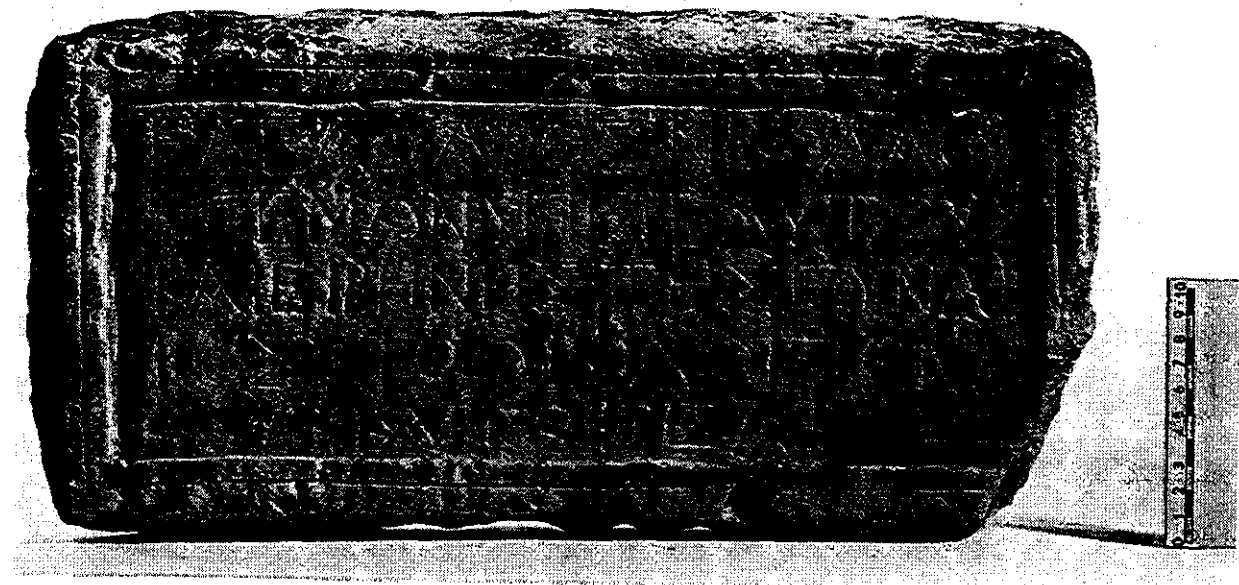


Plate XXVI

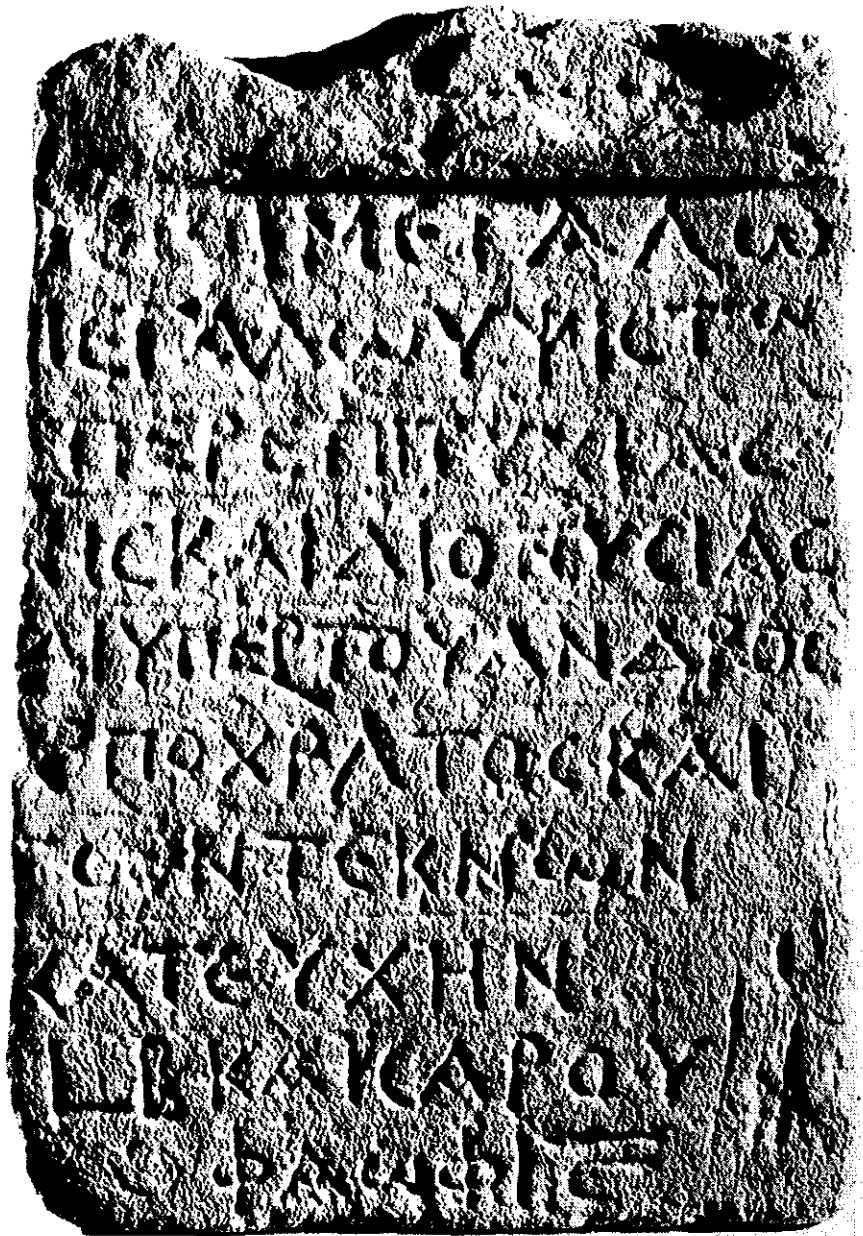


Plate XXVIII



